[For information on kinship terminology in West Tibet, see 19: Benedict, AJ1 Tibet, category 116--Analyst]

692
887 ARBITRATOR--GHatpo. This word means "old man" and is probably used in the sense of "arbitrator" as an old man is usually selected for the post of arbitrator.

●601 [8] AUNT--áney (paternal) máchung (maternal).

777
787 AUSPICIOUS--táSHis or tráSHis also zhakskar (auspicious day for commencing journey, etc., it corresponds to the Hindustani "mahoorat"). To fix or select an auspicious day is zhakskar lta ches. In this respect the Tibetan and Hindu procedure is identical.

589
601 BACHELOR--phórang--the word also means "widower."

453
476
792 [9] BANKER--There are no bankers in Ladák, where grain occupies the position held by money in more civilized countries. The monasteries carry on trade in grain, they lend it out to villagers on the Indian sowai principle, that is to say for each 100 lent, 125 has to be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

852
792 BAPTIZE TO--thrus táng ches. When a name is given to a Tibetan child the lama sprinkles the child with water and performs certain other rites, see also under heading "unction."

501
281 BARGE--nái (a boat or barge) dzaks (a raft consisting of inflated sheep skins covered with a kind of wattle work).

243
262 BARLEY--sóa or swa (ordinary) and nas (beardless barley or grim). Grim is the grain which is most largely grown in Ladák, it requires but little manure, and it ripens at greater altitudes than any other grain. From it is obtained the kind of flour known as "satoo," which constitutes the food of the ordinary Ladák peasant.

285 BASKET--tseypo (the grass mat basket of Ladák made in the shape of an inverted pyramid) also tenjon or trongmo (the Kashmiri kilta) huioog GHam (plain wicker work baskets) kundum (the low round wicker work baskets used for carrying fruit, flowers, etc.).

352
177 [10]
BED--charpa or mánjee. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, beds were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word.

588 Makpa is the term for the bridegroom selected by a woman. In this case the man belongs to the woman, not the woman to the man. If a man has a daughter and no son, and if he is also in a position to provide for her for her life, he arranges for a "makpa" for her; and in this way, he is able to select a man to marry his daughter and to come and live with him, thereby killing two birds with one stone, for not only does he thus avoid having to part with his daughter, who is practically his servant, but he gets an able-bodied man to come and join her, also as his servant. The brothers of a "makpa" can not share the makpa's wife. There is no loss of dignity involved in accepting the position of a makpa bridegroom. Under certain circumstances a woman may have a second husband, but see under "Husband".

595
[554]

• 601 BROTHER--ácho (eldest) parma (middle) and no (young). Spoonla is the general term for full-blood brothers. The words "ácho" and "no" are used just as the Hindustanis use the word "bhai." If the speaker is the elder, he says "no" but if the person spoken to is the elder, the word "ácho" is used.

779 [15]BUDDHA--sangeys or SHakskia thuba. Each "kapla" or period (at the end of each of which the world, for its wickedness, is destroyed by fire) has its own Buddha. The name of the Buddha of the coming period is maitreya.

BUDDHIST--bót or sangeyspa or bótPa. The word "nángpa" or "insider" is used by bots when speaking of themselves as distinguished from Christians and Mahomedans, etc., who are termed "pheepa" or "outsider."

764 BURIAL--The Buddhists of Ladák burn their dead. The Mahomedans use the Arabic word "dafan" but see "Funeral."

262 BUTTER--mar khagla or khagla mar (butter, or fresh butter) mar is a general term for butter, oil, and ghee. Europeans and their servants generally use the word "mar" to mean "fresh butter" but they are understood to mean the butter-like ghee, which is imported from Baltistan.

[439]

797 CHURCH--chhoskhang. The Ladáki Buddhists do not as a rule assemble for public worship, though at the time of their New
796 Year's day and on a few other occasions, large numbers of
778 them go to the monasteries, to worship. The room into which they go is called the "chhoskhang" or "sacred books
778 room." In the house of nearly every rich Buddhist there is a room called the "hlakchung" in which idols are kept and where a lama is in constant attendance, to pray, and keep the lights burning. Nearly every poor man too has an idol room in his house called "chhodkhang".

764 [22]COFFIN--Buddhists burn their dead so do not require coffins, but a kind of box or coffin called rórGHam or rumGHam is used for the conveyance of a corpse to the burning ground. This
[797] box, which is square, and without any lid, belongs to the monastery conducting the funeral. It is used repeatedly for the same purpose.

534 [23]CONCH--tung. The Tibetans, like the Hindus, use the conch as a musical instrument in connection with worship. They attach a mouth-piece to one end and a sort of trumpet-shaped pipe to the other, to increase the sound. This instrument is called a kártung.

428 [25]COTTAGE--khángpa (or khámpa) is the general term for a
342 house or cottage. The small house occupied by parents after having given up their ordinary house, to their eldest son, on the occasion of his marriage, is called "khángoo," while the bigger house or cottage, made over to the son, is called "khángchhen."

●601 COUSIN--azhang (throogoo or) thoogoo (father"s brother's child). áney thoogoo (father's sister's child); ámey mingbey thoo goo (mother's brother's child). ámey máchung thoogoo (mother's sister's child).

231 COW--bálang general, zhodma when in milk, barkam not in milk, dzómo the hybrid cow, a cross between the tame yak bull and an ordinary cow. The cows of Ladák give very little milk sometimes not even a seer a day. The milk of the dzomo is hot of so delicate a flavour as that of the cow, but it produces excellent butter.

[40]EXCOMMUNICATE TO--khioo ne ton ches literally, "to eject from the flock." For offences against religion, Buddhists may be excommunicated by the abbot or "hlóbon" for a longer or shorter period. The offender gives a goat or other offering, and is then received back into the fold. The giving of such penitential offerings is called "SHakspa cho ches." 688 779

EXORCISE TO--rdud (or drey or hlandrey) ton ches. There are two ways of exorcising evil spirits, or driving away sickness. One way is for the Láma to come into the room where the evil spirit is, and, while reading prayers, etc., to strike the air with his "dorjey phurba" or "magic dagger", thus killing or driving out the demon. The other way is to make a clay figure, and then by means of prayers, etc., to cause the evil spirit, or demon of sickness, to take up his abode in this figure which is then, amid much hissing and shouting, taken out of doors and destroyed. 755

[42]FARM--There are no farms in Ladák, the land is cultivated by peasant proprietors who, however, have to pay a land tax to the Kashmir Durbar. Each holding is termed a "zhing" or "zhing kháng" and the holder is termed "zhingrdak." For further particulars see under heading "Entail." 423 241 651

FATHER--ábá or respectfully yap the eldest father, ágoo the younger fathers. Polyandry is almost universal among the Buddhists of Ladák. The eldest brother marries a wife and the younger brothers share her with him. It is usual for as many as three brothers to thus live together, if there are more than three brothers, some of them leave the house on their own account. All children born are considered the children of the eldest brother, but a child speaking of its "fathers" would call the eldest father "ábá" or "ábá chhenmo," the middle one "ába parma," and the young one "ába chhungan." The younger fathers may also be termed ágoo. The actual father is the "ába ngótok." 601 595 [851]

[43]FERRY--raps or chhocraps a ford, nái or toochhung a ferry boat. There are only two ferry boats in Ladák, the one is at the Shyok, crossing between Khardong and Tsáti, and the other is at the Shyok crossing at the north base of the Sasseer Pass. 505 491

796 536 that after death a man's spirit, on its way to the next world, is met by demons whose features resemble those portrayed on the masks, and that if a man has not in this world been rendered familiar with such monstrosities, he is likely to be frightened off the proper road.

796 787 The "MáSHo NaGHrang" takes place about February at the village of MaSHo. On the day of the festival, two Lámás, called "hlooiar" are stripped, and their bodies painted black--after which a devil's face is painted in red on their chests and backs. Other Lámás then surround them and read prayers and incantations, while more Lámás play musical instruments. After a time the "hlooiars" become possessed with devils and begin to shout and leap about and rush over the roofs of the houses of the village. When in this state of excitement they are believed to be endued with the power of prophecy, and they are consequently much consulted. After a time the "hlooiars" succumb to the excitement and fall down senseless, they are then taken away by the Lamas and the NaGHrang ceremony is at an end.

[45]

●601 FILIAL--butsey-tsoks.

601 FIRST BORN--góboo.

778 FLAGSTAFF--tarchhen general term, gialtsan the round cylindric[sic] usually seen on the top of a monastery.

241 231 FLAIL--Not used in Ladák, where corn is trodden out by cattle.

[47]

651 FORCED LABOUR--beygár or thal or hala. The vicious system of beygár or "forced labour" which is to be found in most Oriental countries, prevails also in Ladák. Strictly speaking, the only persons liable to beygár are the holders of land, but as a matter of fact the Kashmir authorities do not observe this restriction very closely, and exact it from others than land-holders.

The word beygár is used to denote the unpaid labour exacted by the State from land-holders. Every village keeps a roster of men liable to beygar, and each in turn has to do, or arrange that some one else shall do on his behalf, such beygár as may be demanded.

423 GROUND RENT--bap or mámila the revenue assessment on land;
651 zhino-thal the unpaid labour which landowners have to supply,
427 when required by the State; ngiǒzhing or zhingrin the rent paid yearly for land rented for a limited number of years only; SHast zhing the small yearly rent paid, in addition to an original lump sum, for cultivated lands rented in perpetuity; SHaskhang the rent paid for ground used for building purposes.

826 [56] HAIRY--srǎchan or SHrǎchan general, spoonjan on face. The Ladákis are a very smooth faced race, and they consider it a disfigurement if a man has a strong growth of hair on his face.

601 HALF BLOOD--The Ladákis have no single word for this; they have to say "of one father, but of different mothers," or as the case may be.

563 HALF CASTE--árGHón. This is the general and only term for a
583 hybrid, and by no means always signifies a half caste.
797 ArGHóns are all Mahomedans, most of them are Sunis, but some also Shiahs. The former are the result of connections formed by the Mahomedan traders, who yearly visit Leh in large numbers, and the women of the country, while the latter are the result, generally speaking, of connections formed between men of Baltistán and women of Ladák.

The Mahomedans of Central Asia are habitually incontinent, and when they come to Leh during the trade season (1st August to 1st October) they (as prostitution is against their religion, and as they can only marry women of their own religion), induce the Ladák women to adopt the faith of Islám, after which they go through the "nikah" marriage ceremony with them.

[771] Their religion lies but lightly on the people of Ladák, and the women have no objection to turning Mahomedan, and becoming the "nikah" brides of men who are in a position to keep them. The offspring of these connections are, in the first instance, half caste Tibetan Mahomedans called "árGHóns," and these again frequently marry pure Tibetan women (converted to Mahomedanism), but their children too are "árGHóns," thus it may happen that a man is practically a pure Tibetan, nevertheless if he traces his descent from a connection formed between a Mahomedan, and a Ladaki woman, he is termed
[595] an "árGHón." ArGHóns are never polyandrists, and though

arrangement serves with them for a hinge. 000

[62] HOE--pharooa (large spade-like implement for digging) thoktsey (small narrow implement used for weeding or digging up earth round roots of flowers, etc.). 241

[63]

HOT SPRING--chhootshan. There are a good many of these, the principal ones being at Pooga, Panámik, Changlung ShooSHól, and Kiám. The Kiám spring which is the hottest, has a temperature of 179° and is impregnated with soda and sulphur. 133

HOUR--chhootshot i.e., water measure--so called because the Dógras, who first taught the Tibetans to count time by the hour, used for an hour glass, a brass bowl so made, with a small hole in it, that when placed in a pan of water, it floated for exactly an hour, after which owing to the weight of water gradually taken in through the hole, it sank. 804 177

HOUSE--khángpa or khampa (general), khar (of a king), zimskhang (of a great man), táSHak (of a Láma not residing in a monastery) zimSHak or zimSHung (of a "skooSHok" or "incarnation". These persons never live in a monastery but have quarters close by) khángzhik or khángoo (a small hut) GHunsa (the word means "winter place" and is used to indicate the house in a village occupied by a villager during the winter) yártsa (meaning "summer place" is used to indicate the house out in the fields, where the cultivator lives during the summer, so as to be near his work). 342

HOVEL--khángoo or khangzhik (a small and poor house) pooloo (the small dry stone wall shelter-places to be found near the tops of mountain passes and in other out of the way places, sometimes with slab-stone roof, generally without any roof, but never containing any wood work, as this would inevitably be stolen and used for fire-wood).

[64]

HUSBAND--toks or troks or zhidmat. The words mean also "wife". Polyandry is almost universally practised among the Buddhists of Ladák. Matrimony and the law of entail (which see) are closely connected. The eldest son inherits the whole of the family property, and he it is who is entitled to marry a wife. 60 596 428 583

595 428 583 ●601 [597] If he has only two brothers, they both become the "de facto" husbands of his wife, but if he has more than two brothers, some of them must become Lámas (priests), or must leave the paternal roof, and make their own way in the world, as not more than two brothers can share the wife of their eldest brother. The wife addresses her real husband, that is to say, the eldest brother, who alone has gone through the ceremonies of betrothal and marriage, as "ácho" or in polite language "káGHa," while she calls the two younger brothers "no" or "káGHa chhungan".

601 The "ácho" husband speaks to his wife as "achey," while the "no" husbands speak to her as "nómo." Speaking of the wife, all brothers call her their "áney" or "zhidmat". Another person speaking of this woman and her husbands would describe the woman as being the "zhidmot" (wife), of the góboo (eldest brother) parma (middle brother), and thachhungan (little brother).

586 If the woman has no child by these husbands, other arrangements are made, but see under "Re-marriage".

595 587 According to the Ladák usage, a woman may have 3 brothers as her husbands at the same time, but she cannot (unless divorced) marry another husband while any of these brothers live. After they are all dead, she may marry another man, but as a matter of fact, she never does so, if she has any children.

583 586 A "makpa" is the husband selected by an heiress; he is generally a younger brother of a family of more than 3 brothers, and he is, therefore, glad to be married to a woman who will support him. The "makpa" is the property of his wife she can turn him out whenever she pleases, and call in another "makpa" if so inclined; but as a matter of fact this is seldom done.

478 583 If there are daughters, but no sons in a family, the eldest daughter becomes the heir to the family property, and occupies the position which the eldest son, had there been one, would have held. Instead of being given in marriage, she selects a single husband for herself, or her parents do it for her, and such a husband is called a "makpa." From this custom it may be inferred [595] that the ladies of Ladák do not approve of polyandry, for how, otherwise, can we account for the fact, that while the pauper has several husbands at the same time, the heiress has never more than one.

778 [65]IDOL--skunda or skoo. There is no invidious meaning attached to this word, a Buddhist speaks of his clay god as a "skunda."

789 [95]MAGIC--thrul (or thul) stan ches (to perform in a general sense) thoosna giap ches(to bring down fire from heaven to consume any thing) nganchhos cho ches (to bewitch, by means of religious charms, etc.), reepSHing or teepSHing (a magical wand-made of a very rare kind of wood, and possessing the virtue of enabling the person holding it, to become invisible).

795 609 MAHOMEDAN--pheepa or Mussalman. The word "pheepa" means "outsider" and is applicable to all persons other than Buddhists, who are called "nangpa" or "insider," but as a matter of fact, Muhammadans are the only persons usually called "pheepa," and the word may therefore be considered as applying to them only.

583 ● 601 MAKPA--Makpa. This is the name given to the husband of a woman who is sufficiently well off to select a husband for herself, instead of being married in the ordinary way. For particulars see under heading "Husband."

412 [96]MALLET--thómálak (iron hammer as for driving in tent pegs) thóa (large sledge hammer) chhombur (the heavy wooden beaters used in Ladák for consolidating new metal on a road or newly laid turf, etc.)

273 MALT--lums. In Ladák, barley (nas) required for malt is cleaned and put into a large cooking pot to a depth of 6 or 8 inches and water is then poured over it, to a depth of about 3 inches. The whole is then boiled gently till the water is absorbed by the barley which is then called "Lums."

The Lums is then taken out of the boiling pan and spread out to cool, after which it is sprinkled with a mixture of powdered ginger cloves and nutmeg, a little yeast (phaps) is also added. The whole is then mixed up and put into a sack, and covered up to keep out the cold.

In about 60 hours it ferments, it is then put into a large earthen vessel for about 18 hours during which time it rises, water is then added, and after 2 hours is drawn off and strained. This is the best kind of "chhang" (beer) and is called "machhoo." After this, water is three times more added and drawn off and strained. The resulting liquors are then mixed up together and sold as "chhang," which is a kind of small beer not much

415 [106]MUG--kórey; the shallow, saucer-like, drinking vessel made of wood, and some times lined with silver, which all Ladákis carry about with them.

764 MUMMY--ro skámpo. Tibetans usually burn their dead, but when a great Láma or Incarnation dies, they take the body, and without removing the inside, etc., place it, just as it is, in a large coffin, which is then filled up with salt, and removed to a suitable place where a chhorten is erected over it.

826 MUSCULAR--roosthak or roosthrak. Ladákis think a man full of blood (no muscle) is a strong man hence the name.

564 MUSICIAN--mon. In Ladák the "mon" is the musician caste. There
533 is no Ladaki word for "musician," the book word is rolmókhan.

000 MUZZLE--khamtshul (the lower part of face), khákaps (in Ladák these are made of plaited horse hair).

601 [107]NEPHEW--tasháo (general); acho-i-butsa (elder brother's son); no-i-butsa (younger brother's son); achey-i-butsa (elder sister's son); nomo-i-butsa (younger sister's son).

[108]NIECE--ácho-i bómo (elder brother's daughter); no-i bómo (younger brother's daughter); áchey-i bomo (elder sister's daughter); nomo-i bomo (younger sister's daughter); also tshámo (general).

779 NIRVANA--The Tibetan idea of attaining "nirvána" is their equiva-
781 lent to our idea of reaching "heaven". They think that life is bad; that it is full of pain and sorrow; and that the greatest conceivable bliss is the attainment of nirvána, or the state of "nothingness," which, according to our ideas, is the same as annihilation. "Stongpa ngyid" is the Tibetan equivalent for the Sanscrit "nirvána"; "ódsál" or "ótsál" (literally "light-bright") means the world to come--that place where it is always light and there is no night. "Sangeys thop ches" is to attain Buddhahood, or, in other words, "nirvána." "Kopang thop ches" is "to reach the standard of perfection" or Buddhahood. "Zhingkhams-la skiey ches" is "to be born in the field of merit," that is to say, to attain "nirvána" or to cease being reborn in this wicked world.

tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal). 000

[115]PAGAN--The Ladákis have no such a word in their vocabulary. Buddhists are called "Nángpa" or "insiders", while those of other religions are called Hindoos, or, as the case may be, Mahomedans are called "Pheepa" or "outsiders", and atheists are called "Armendirnen". 798

[116]PARENT--ába (eldest father); ágoo (other fathers); ámá (mother). 601

[117]PATRON--giápsten (friend); eedam or yeedam (patron saint or tutelar divinity)--nearly every Ladáki has a "yeedam" of his or her own selection. 776 572

[118]PAWN-BROKER--bundak or norrdak (money-lender); tshongpa (merchant). The money-lenders and merchants are the pawn-brokers of Ladák. 426 448

PELISSE--hlóGHor or hióGHor. Ladáki ladies, when in full dress, nearly always wear a pelisse or cloak of scarlet and green cloth, lined with white lambskin. A rich person ornaments the cloak with heavy silver ornaments at throat, neck, and shoulders. Hlokpa is the goatskin cloak worn by the labouring classes, both men and women, to protect the back. But see "Cloak." 291 565 301

[119]PERAMBULATE TO--skora skor ches. The Ladakis, in so far as they are addicted to religious observances, which is not a great deal, attach considerable importance to circum-ambulation, combined with prostrations, as a means of obtaining a forgiveness of their sins. 788

PERQUISITE--thoptáng signifies legal perquisite, such as the grain given by [120] villagers at harvest time to the village blacksmiths or other village servants. The respectful word is "chhak rsten" or "zhoo rsten" signifying "offering" or "petition present"; phaksup signifies an "illegal perquisite," i.e., bribe. 675 195 662

[120]

PETTICOAT--SHamthap, the red petticoat worn by Lámas of both 792 291

in the neighbouring province of Baltistan, where there is no polyandry, it is common enough. 595 763

POSSESSED--hlá zhukskhan or hlaba (of a good or evil spirit). The first word is used to signify a man only while actually under the influence of the spirit. Hlaba is applied to a person who is at [124] times so possessed. But see under "Festival." Gongpo (or feminine gongmo) is the term applied to the "spirit" with which a person is "possessed." 787

PRAYER WHEEL--máney chhos khor (general); máney lak skor (hand prayer wheel); mánkey chhoo skor (water-power prayer wheel). The prayer wheel consists of a cylindrical-shaped box, made, in the case of the hand prayer wheels, of copper, and in the case of the large prayer wheels worked by water-power, of wood. The cylinder revolves on a pivot which passes through its centre, and the lower part of which serves as a handle, while at the upper extremity is affixed a metal cap, to keep the cylinder in position. The cylinder is filled with rolls of paper, on which are written prayers or texts. [125] As the cylinder revolves, the texts also revolve, and as each revolution of a prayer is equivalent in merit to its repetition, and as hundreds of prayers are revolved with each revolution of the cylinder, it is clear that, according to Buddhist ideas, much value attaches to the máney chhos-khor. To the centre of the cylinder, of the hand wheel, is attached a light chain, about three inches long, and having a small weight fastened to its extremity; thus when once the wheel has been set in motion, it requires very little effort to keep it going. Máney skor ches is "to cause a prayer wheel to revolve." 788

[126]PRIMOGENITURE--góboo-i-thoptáng-i-thims (or thrims). The law of primogeniture prevails in Ladák. But see under "Entail." 428

PRINCE--giálpo or giápo or rgiálpo (ruler); giáloo or rgiáloo (child of ruler); SHráspo or sráspo (male infant child of ruler). 565 601

PRINCESS--giámo or rgiámo (female ruler or wife of ruler); SHrásmo or srásmo, (the female infant child of a ruler).

687 567 476 failed to account for, State grain or money, etc., in their charge. Such a debtor was, and is still, termed a "bákidár" or "defaulter." Such persons, and their descendants, were, till the year 1890, [148] obliged to work for the State in return for their daily ration only, the rest of their earnings being confiscated by the State, as part payment of the original default.

164 757 SMALL-POX--dumpa or drumpa. Small-pox is rare in Ladak, but in the summer of 1834 it broke out with great virulence, and is said to have carried off about 14,000 persons, or one-twelfth of the entire population. The Tibetan custom in regard to this disease is to take the patient away to some secluded spot, to give him a few days' supply of food and drink, and then to leave him to take his chance of recovering.

601 [149] SON--pootsa.

774 SOUL--sem (soul); SHok or srok or tshey (life); hning or sning (heart). In the Roman Catholic Tibetan catechism the word "soul" is translated "namSHes" which in Ladák is understood to mean the "ghost" of a dead person. But see "Spirit."

241 SOW TO--sáwan (or sáon) tap ches (to follow the plough and throw seed into the newly-made furrow); sáwan giástor táng ches (to scatter seed and then plough it in). The latter is the procedure followed by the very poorest agriculturalists in Ladák.

[150]

774 776 787 273 SPIRIT--sem (the soul); SHok or srok or tshey (the life); hning or sning (the heart); tun (energy); namSHes or namSHet (a ghost); thukngyid (the Holy Ghost); sem or thuks (as the spirit of an action or speech, etc); hla or hloo (a god or fairy); hlámo (a goddess); hlandey or hlandrey or dey or drey (a demon or evil spirit or phantom); ghegs and rdon and hnotchet (evil spirits); gongpo (the spirit with which a man may be "possessed"); árak (an alchoholic drink); chut (the alchoholic essence).

516 [151] SQUAT TO--duk ches (general); tsong-tsong-la duk ches (as a Hindustani sits on the upright calves of his legs); pugdong (or pigrdong) tsukstey duk ches (as Central Asians sit, in a kneeling position, but sitting back on the up-turned heels); trupzheel-dakstey (or tubzhildakstey) duk ches (cross-legged like a tailor).

Ladáki men sit cross-legged, but for women it is considered an improper position, so they kneel on one knee and sit on that heel, keeping the other knee erect, or they sit on the calf of the upright leg and tuck the other leg under them; to sit thus is also termed tsong tsong la duk ches. Central Asians consider the Indian attitude indecorous. 516

[152]

STEP-CHILD--máyar poorok. 601

STEP-DAUGHTER--máyarpoorok-i-bómo.

STEP-FATHER--pháyar. Tibetans think that if one father dies, it is good for the children to have a step-father.

STEP-MOTHER--máyar. Step-mothers are looked on with much disfavour.

STEP-SON--máyarpoorok-i-pootsa.

STEWARD--chhakdzot or chaGHzot. The officer in charge of stores. In a monastery he is a great man. But see "Lama." 644 792

[153]STORE-HOUSE--pánga (the underground compartments kept for the storage of grain); dzot (general term). 343

STRAW--sokma or sogma (unchopped); and phugma (chaff-straw broken up by being trodden upon by the animals treading the grain out of the ears). 243

[154]SUFFOCATE TO--khásup táng ches or boksup (or tshupskor) la tang ches (by preventing respiration). Buddhists are not allowed to take life, so when the Tartars of Chángtháng want meat, they tie up an animal's mouth, thus causing it to die of suffocation; or they cause it to fall over a precipice and be killed. The Tartars then eat the flesh with easy consciences. 779 753

[155]SURNAME--Tibetans have no surnames. 551

[156]TABLE--choktsey (general term for the stool-like tables used by Ladákis); ltapchok (about 6 inches high); hlángchok 352

311 UNCULTIVATED--stong (waste land); tha (land which is only temporarily uncultivated).

556 415 /165/ URN--samáwár. The Russian combination tea-pot and urn. A cylinder for holding charcoal, passes through the centre, and the tea and water are put in and boiled by means of this charcoal. These urns are much used by the well-to-do people of Ladák, especially when on a journey.

426 792 USURER--phar-zákhan. The Indian and Kashmiri traders of Leh do not do much in the way of money-lending. The people seldom borrow anything but grain, and this they usually borrow from the monasteries. The Indian bazar rates of interest prevail in Ladák. For money, one anna per rupee per mensem is the usual charge, and for grain "sowái" is paid, that is to say, for every four parts of grain borrowed, five must be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

562 292 /166/ VEIL TO--yola kap ches (general); rdongyol kap ches (the face). Tibetan ladies do not ordinarily wear veils, except in the case of the ex-Raja's wife, who is supposed, when she appears in public, to wear a veil, called "SHokSHok," which is made of silver wire and studded with pearls and turquoises.

577 779 /167/ VIRTUE--geywa. The ten chief virtues, as defined by the Buddhist scriptures, are the abstaining from (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) fornication, (4) lying, (5) abuse, (6) idle talking; (7) calumniating, (8) avarice, (9) mischief, (10) heterodoxy.

574 554 195 VISIT TO--jal la chha ches (when the inferior goes to visit the superior); jal la yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an inferior); thuga chha ches or thuk ches (when the visit is between equals); thuga yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an equal).

VISIT--jalches (of an inferior to a superior); thukches (between equals).

VISITOR--jalkhan (of inferior rank); thukkhan (equal in rank to the person visited).

862 /168/ WEAN TO--peebee chat ches. Ladákis don't wean their children till they are two, or even three, years old.

564 WEAVER--thakkhan. There is no "weaver caste" in Ladák.

286 589 ● 601 /169/ WIDOW--mórangmo. But see "Marriage," "Divorce," and "Remarriage."

WT 569 601 WIDOWER--dazan or phórang.

WT 601 [170]WIFE--áney or zhidmát or toks or troks. But see also "Husband" and "Remarriage."

WT 584 WOO TO--Ladákis don't "woo," as their parents settle their marriages for them.

WT 565 272 [171]YEW BARK--sangldan-i pakspa. The poor Ladákis use it as tea. They slightly roast it, powder it, boil it up with water, and then add soda and ghee.

WT 648 431 [172]ZIAFAT--phoks. This is the term for the presents of sheep, ghee, etc., which, in accordance with the custom of the Kashmir State, used to be made to the British Joint Commissioner in Ladak, each year, on his return from India to Leh. This practice has been discontinued since 1887.

[174] ORIGIN OF THE LAPCHAK MISSION, etc.

WT 175 648 721 I am indebted to Dr. Marx, of the Moravion Mission, for a translation of a portion of the History of Ladák, written by Bering Wáng Chung, which enables me to give the following explanation, regarding the origin of the Lapchak and Chhaba Missions, of the so-called "Minsar Jágeer" of the Maharajah of Kashmir, and the refusal of the Lhása authorities to allow foreigners, other than natives of Ladák, to enter Lhása Territory viá Ladák.

T 175 648 721 About 180 years ago, when Lha-chhen-lde-leks-rnam-rgiál was king of Ladak, a mixed force of Mongols (the Tibetan word for Mongol is Sokpo) and Lhása men invaded and conquered Ladák. For three years they held possession of the country, but then "the Náwáb of Kashmir" sent up a force to aid the Ladákis, and the invaders were defeated, and compelled to retreat to Táshis-gang (about 8 miles east of Demjok), where they entrenched themslves, [sic] and arranged for a treaty of peace in the following manner.

T 175 728 648 WT 175 728 648 The Drukpa (red sect) Omniscient Láma, named Mee-pham-wáng-po, who in his former incarnations had always been the patron Láma of the kings of Ladák, from generation to generation, was sent from Lhása to Táshis-gang, to arrange the conditions of a treaty of peace--for the Ladák king could never refuse to abide by the decision of the Omniscient one.

the possession of his wife to, whom he had become increasingly attached as time went by, instead of having to share in the possession of one woman with several brothers in a polyandrous marriage. (129)

129. In large parts of Tibet and of Ladakh there prevails the custom of marriage with many men (polyandry). In families with several sons, only the eldest son as a rule brings a wife into the house. This wife is after the wedding without further ceremony also considered the spouse of the remaining--rarely more than two--younger brothers. The oldest brother is regarded as the actual husband and owner of the woman, and he alone is entitled to rid himself of the woman through divorce when she has committed adultery or in any other way displeased him. The children are the property of the oldest brother, of the master of the house; they call him "great father (a-p'a ĉen-mō), " the youngest brother they call "little father (a-p'a ĉuñ-nuñ), " and the middle brother (of three) they call "ap'a /sic/ bar-ma, middle father. " Often one of the brothers marries as Magpa into another house, especially when there are more than three brothers in one household; or one of the younger brothers enters the monastery as lama and is taken care of there. In this way, and also through the frequent absence on business trips of one or several of the woman's husbands, the unnatural and repulsive aspects of this custom are somewhat lessened. The custom has its motivation in the endeavor to prevent the splitting up into many small parts of the field holdings which are usually small, are acquired with much toil and are expensive to begin with; and also to avoid overpopulation. It is therefore a measure of purely economic and social significance. Through continued distribution of the land among the heirs, there would soon come into existence tiny properties which would be unable to maintain a family. Tibet still has practically no industry and the few handicrafts (smith, carpenter) are practised exclusively by the low caste Aryans (Mon, Garba). Thus the brothers mostly stay together in the paternal house where they are very welcome as working hands; even a small holding can in this manner feed its occupants at least precariously. In so doing the "system" practically fulfills its purpose. True, it is so designed as to destroy the woman's feeling for purity and dignity. But it must be said that

595

[601]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

595 some husbands who will not share fully in the connubial bliss.
182 They will be apt to turn their backs on marriage and retire to the
792 monasteries to become lamas.

595 All of these reasons† may contribute to the invention and spread
428 of polyandry in Ladakh and Tibet. But the chief reason is the law of primogeniture. In this region the land, on the death of the father, passes to the eldest son. That has the advantage of keeping an estate intact, of preventing it from being pulverized into many pieces. Otherwise, family units might become so small as to be
[735] uneconomic. Proponents of primogeniture say that if the estates were pulverized, starvation would be the fate of those who, even with large farms, barely keep at the subsistence level.

But if all the land goes to the eldest son, the younger ones are cast out and nothing is left for them. New land in this bleak and barren country is not readily had. There are no frontiers where untapped, fertile land can be opened to settlement. And there will be none unless vast irrigation projects are undertaken. There is no industry to which the younger sons can turn. There are precious few trades that will absorb them. The economy is almost exclusively agricultural. The younger sons must look to the land for their livelihood unless perchance they become lamas, or try to develop caravan routes, or leave the country completely.

The problem, therefore, was to keep all the sons on the ancestral plot of ground and yet preserve the old home place as a unit. If each son moved in with a wife, there would probably be trouble. Even if there were no trouble, there would be many babies and an increasing number of mouths to feed.

595 And so several reasons may have combined to build each generation of sons around one wife. This woman, who became the wife of the eldest son, became the wife of each of his brothers. The first-born son—whatever husband be the father—became the
• [601] heir. The eldest husband is called Father; each of his brothers is called Little Father. In the eyes of the law, each has equal access to the wife and she has equal obligations to all the brothers. In

† [See p.179 -- ANALYST]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

595 chief bridegroom, and the marriage-tie is as binding on him as on his elder brother. In lower Ladak, however, where more of the men-folk are away from home trading or travelling, the link is said to be bearable between as many as five brothers.

4r3 4r8 The house and the land and all the children belong to the eldest brother, whether the latter are his begetting or his brothers', and the younger inherits all if the former predeceases him. Hence the word for uncle is always *Aba Chungun*, "little father."

601

763 At length must come the time when the Ladaki's "silver cord is loosened," and his "golden bowl broken." He does not, however, believe that his spirit returns to God who gave it, but that it seeks a new habitation in one of the six existences,

764 decided by the deeds done in the life just ended. Immediately the soul has set forth on this quest, the lama is hurriedly fetched to read from the holy books and pronounce various charms.

764 614 The nearest relative must now break the corpse's neck, thus setting free its spirit, and the body is then rolled up and tied into a ball as far as this is possible. It is then carried by one of the *paspun* into the family temple, or private chapel, of the house. Nobody but a *paspun* is ever allowed to touch the corpse, and if no male one exists, a woman has to perform this duty. A candle is now lit, and food and drink provided for the soul, which would suffer much during its search for a fresh tabernacle were it not alleviated by the sustenance

[791] thus prepared. This is done for about one month. An appeal is then made to the *Onpo*, whose researches settle the date and even the time when cremation may be performed. In the meantime mourners attend the house, who join the family and their friends in bewailing the deceased with loud tones, and help them to consume much butter-tea and flour. Every newcomer provokes a fresh outburst of expression of sorrow. The nearest female relation puts on her oldest clothes, and shows her bereavement by looking as dishevelled and dirty as possible.

2125

857 that they have two heads, but the explana-
291 tion is that they generally carry a younger
[855] brother or sister on their back because the
[512] mother is at work in the house and cannot look after them.

212 It is a fact that all Tibetans are literate,
857 men and women alike. Whatever class
779 they belong to, between the ages of 8 and
871 12 they have to go to the monastery to learn the Buddhist religion, learning to read and write at the same time. This gives these people a very high standard of culture.

595 The first thing to grasp in Tibetan
428 polyandry is that the Tibetans are very
R3 keen to keep the property together. The
592 country is poor, and they feel that if the property is divided among several heirs there will not be enough to go around. They not only wish to keep the property intact but also to maintain the family name to this property. Thus, when a certain number of brothers, let us say, three, inherit the property and the house, they do not divide it among themselves but, marrying one woman as they do, they share not only the property but also the woman as a common wife, as well as the children which belong to all of them together. It is a kind of family communism, and certainly prevents division of the property.

595 Thus, the usual type of marriage is that
428 a number of brothers marry one woman
● [601] and keep the property. This is called a *bagma* marriage in Tibetan. However, if
581 there are only girls in the family, what
592 usually happens is that the younger girls go off and marry into other families, individually becoming the common wives of a number of brothers. They thus perform the regular *bagma* marriage. The eldest daughter, however, since she has no brothers, inherits both the name and property from her fathers and and is allowed to marry as many husbands as she wishes. These husbands and the children, too, take her name, so that, in this way, the children which issue from the marriage take on the mother's name and inherit the property undivided, and again make regular *bagma*

595 marriages. The woman's marriage, in this
[601] case, is known as a *magpa* marriage. It
428 differs from the *bagma* marriage in that
581 the woman is head of the family. The
592 husbands are married to her and she can
do exactly as she wants with them.

595 The most important point to grasp in
126 polyandry is that the house is the axis
592 around which the system functions. In
taking down genealogical notes I have,
therefore, always given the family the
name of the house.

595 A specialized case I came across was
583 that of an only son of the house called
428 Tsungarpa who married one woman,
the heiress to the Bata house (see FIGURE
1).[1] All her brothers were dead, so that

[1] P. 213c FIGURE 1

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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had come to live with her husbands in Kyelang. I asked if I could photograph the family, and on receiving permission to do so, asked for the younger husbands to be included. They posed unabashed but the elder boy and his bride looked shy. The Thakur said that this was because husband and wife should not really be seen very much together in public. 595

Further questioning elucidated that property of the household was common to the family, the mother and her three sons having inherited the land and house from the deceased husband. By marrying one wife, the brothers avoided partition and jointly shared their estate, their wife, and the children they might have. Asked if the younger brothers could marry another woman if they wished, the Thakur assured me that they could; he said that they could also bring her home, if the others agreed to it, and have her living with them in the common house. In my notes I have written: "Thus polygyny and polyandry are united under one roof, the first marriage of the three brothers to one wife not being dissolved when a new wife is brought home." [428]

The following day, June 22nd, the Wazir took me to some other households in the town. The first one, called Mion Zukshi, was polygynous and polyandrous as theoretically described above. Four brothers lived with two wives, without dividing their belongings and apparently in complete harmony. I did not know enough at the time to investigate the relations of these people, but I did gather one wife had been the spouse of all four brothers first, until the third one had gone out and brought himself another girl back, with the consent of his brothers.

In the next household, called Ralwa Karpa, one man was married to three women. Unfortunately my notes do not give any details and I am mentioning it here only as a indication that polygyny does exist in the valley of Lahul as, in fact, it exists everywhere else in areas of Tibetan culture.

The third household was the main one from which the previous one had broken away (*Ralwa*, it seems, means "cleft" locally). It consisted of two men living together undivided property with a wife each. The particularity of this family was, however, that both brothers had been married first to one of the women, until the older man had brought in a new wife. The first woman then became exclusively the wife of the younger brother. I made a rough sort of genealogy (the first I ever did) which I give opposite (Table 26). 595 601 7/1

From this genealogy I learned that polyandry earlier on had been much more pronounced. Tsering Tashi and Dön-drup had two elder

7/1 [See category 116, P. 317 -- Analyst]

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595 601 brothers called Tseten and Tashi Norbu, who had originally been married together with them to a common wife. With her they had had one son, Chömpel, an albino, now about 18 years old. He still lived in the Karpa house, groping about like a blind man in the daylight, as I was to see on another occasion. With the death of their common wife, the two elder men went each their own way, and married into other families, as shown in the genealogy. The two younger men remained in sole possession of the Karpa house and were remarried polyandrously to a new wife. It was after Tsering Tashi had brought back a wife for himself from a trip to another part of Lahul that this formerly common wife became exclusively that of the younger man, Dön-drup, as described above. Was this state of affairs in this household a sign that polyandry was breaking up in Lahul? I wondered at the time, and questioned the Thakur on this point during the conversation.

595 [594] [788] When we entered the Karpa house, the wife of Dön-drup (who had formerly been both his and his elder brother's common wife) sprinkled tea with a branch of juniper on the floor ahead of us as a gesture of welcome. Thakur Partap Chand thanked her with folded hands and recited some *mantra* (religious formula) before stepping onto the wet places.

595 [795] To my question as to how many were polyandrous in the valley of Lahul, the Wazir replied that forty households out of a total of sixty, in Kyelang alone, practised polyandry. And this included Christian families too, he said, who, of course, were not polyandrous. In the capital at least, there was thus a proportion of three to one who lived in polyandry, and there appeared to be every reason to believe that this same figure held good for the whole area in which Lahulis of Tibetan cultural affinity were to be found. Consequently there seemed to be no grounds for believing that polyandry was breaking up.

595 198 Asked about signalling at the door when one of the husbands was occupied with the common wife, the Thakur told me that this used to be done in "ancient days", when the man left his hat or his beads at the door to show that he was inside. It was not done any longer, he assured me.

595 428 I enquired what a *mag-pa* was, since that was a word that was used to denote the status taken by the two elder brothers who, some time back, had married into other houses at the death of the first common wife whom they all shared. I received a rather confused explanation at the time which I did not very well undertsand, and it was only a few days later, when talking with the Reverend F. A. Peter, that it was

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made clear to me exactly what was meant by this name (on the 25th June, 1938).

Lahulis, the Moravian missionary told me, are very keen not to divide up their property and anxious, also, not to let their family name die out. In order to attain these two objectives, they practise polyandry and both patrilineal and matrilineal inheritance, the latter type, however, only in the case of there being no male heir, so that a generation in which there are only girls may be bridged over.

He compared the Lahuli household to a pivot around which all the interests of the family revolved. Polyandry was practised because in this way a number of brothers living on a family property could keep it undivided by taking one wife in common and sharing her, the land and the children between themselves. Usually inheritance was patrilineal, boys inheriting jointly and without division from their fathers, and then marrying polyandrously as the latter had done, and so on and so on through the future generations.

Matrilineal succession was resorted to when there was no male heir or heirs. In that case, if there were more than one girl, the eldest became the heiress, while the others were married off into other families, usually polyandrously, to brothers. In the case of one female heir, she, like the eldest of many daughters, inherited the whole property from her parents, undivided, and then was free to take as many husbands as she wished with whom to procreate offspring for the household. If she had boys, they inherited as described above; if she in turn only had girls, the same procedure as that which had been followed in her own case was again made use of.

The first type of marriage, the Reverend Peter said, that in which the sons of a Lahuli family took one wife in common, was the most widespread and was called a *bag-ma* marriage (*Bag-ma*, meaning "bride" in Tibetan). It was patrilocal and patrilineal. The other type of marriage, the one in which a daughter inherited all the property alone and took as many husbands as she wished, was more exceptional. Its name was a *mag-pa* marriage (from *Mag-pa*, "son in law" or "bridegroom" in Tibetan), an appellation by which the woman's husband or husbands were also known in that case (see genealogy of the Karpa family in which this term is used).

My informant told me that in Leh, Ladak, he had known a woman with three *mag-pas*, all unrelated, so that this is a form of non-fraternal polyandry. He said that the younger brothers of a *mag-pa* do not have access to his wife, as it is he who has married into her household and

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595 he belongs to her, not she to him, as she would in the regular, fraternal
428 polyandry of the *bag-ma* marriage. The heiress's children take her name, and her bridegroom is really nothing more than the man she has chosen to enable her to have the children she needs to hand down the property she has inherited undivided. A *mag-pa* or *mag-pas* can be turned out [586] by their wife without her having any obligation to compensate them; in such cases, the woman does, however, usually give the poor man a sheep or a few rupees as a parting present. Even if there are children of the union, the *mag-pa* or *mag-pas* can be dismissed, it being considered that he or they have fulfilled their mission and are no longer of any use. Offspring remain with the house, namely in this case, with the mother.

428 In the rare cases where there are no direct heirs, male or female,
597 household property and family name go to the most closely related member of some related branch, with a preference for the paternal side if possible. But usually even this is avoided by the adoption of an heir, such being the preoccupation of the Lahulis with keeping the property undivided and with handing down the family name.

585 On the 1st July 1938, Wazir Thakur Partap Chand took me to Gum-
[595] ling village to see a *bag-ma* wedding in the Tolag-pa house. It will be
[601] seen in the genealogy of the Karpa house given in Table 26, that Tseten, eldest of the four sons of Namgyal Karpa, after having been part of a polyandrous marriage with his three brothers, left them when their common wife died to become a *mag-pa* in the Tolag-pa House of Gumling. He had had four boys and two girls, and it was to the wedding of these four sons of Tseten that my wife and I were now invited.

On arrival at the house, Tseten received us, flanked by a young wom-
[273] an beautifully dressed in coloured silks with a white scarf over her shoulders and a magnificent turquoise crown on her head, who immediately offered us *chang* (local barley beer) to drink, in spite of the early hour (it was seven a.m.). All the way from Kyelang to Gumling, only
[564] half an hour's ride, we had been preceded by a member of the smith
[533] caste, a Gara, who drummed away loudly on a kettle-shaped instrument to do us honour and announce our arrival. He now stopped beating it and went into the house with us to join others like himself who, today, on this festive occasion, constituted the band.

With the Wazir, we were taken up to a guest room where we were invited to sit cross-legged on the floor and plied with tea and more *chang*. Once we had been through this ritual of polite reception, we were taken up onto the roof of the house where a carpet had been put

[Text Continues on p. 318]

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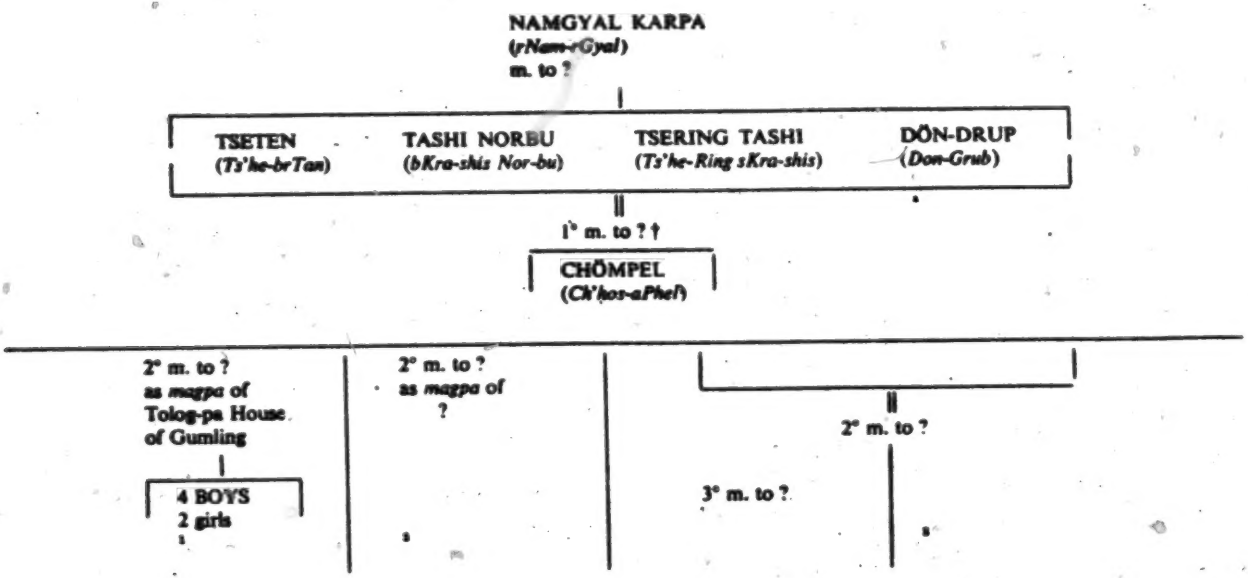
TABLE 26. HOUSE OF KARPA.



[1] House of Tolag-pa of Gumling.
[2] House of the family into which Tashi Norbu was married as *magpa*.
[3] House of Karpa continued by Tsering Tashi and Dön-drup.

Males in Capital letters
Females in small lettering
m. = married
† = dead

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595 [851] [847] although sometimes he is known. It was true, the Thakur said, that when a family had no issue, a man from outside was called in in an attempt to sire a child for them. Such a man was called a *p'horjag* (*P'ho-rJag*) as in other parts of the Himalayas and in Tibet where the custom was also followed. It was not particularly well looked upon in Lahul, and was only rarely resorted to. Monogamous families seemed to favour it more than polyandrous ones, he added.

595 855 The care and upbringing of the children were also a joint concern, I was told. It could not be said that any one parent, be it one of the fathers or the mother, had a more important role to play in this respect than the others. But of course, when children were very young, [854] the mother looked after them more than the fathers. Later on, it was perhaps the brother with the greatest personality who played a prominent part in the education of the children. On the whole, however, the men seemed afraid of their sons, believing that if they treated them badly, they themselves might suffer for it later on in life.

595 428 [636] Young people often revolted against polyandry, but experience showed that it was nevertheless still the best policy to follow. Fathers put pressure on their boys, when they rose in rebellion against the idea of sharing a wife, by threatening to withold handing down the family property to them. This was generally quite sufficient to make the young men change their minds.

595 [518] [187] In conclusion, summing up his views on polyandry, Thakur Partap Chand said that the system worked pretty smoothly on the whole. There was little quarrelling and not much jealousy. The reason for which this matrimonial custom was practised was an economic one: the soil was poor, the holdings small, and there was little possibility of acquiring other arable land. Each family had to hang on to what it owned; partition was strenuously avoided.

601 I obtained a few kinship terms from the informant, but not as many as I was able to gather, later, in other areas of Tibetan culture. Those I obtained in Lahul, however, are of interest from a comparative point of view, because they are more archaic linguistically than those now in use in Tibet proper and show a persistance of old forms in these remote western valleys. Grandfather (both father's and mother's father) is *me-me* (*Mes-mes*) in Lahul; grand uncles (paternal and maternal grandfather's brothers), *lamas* (*bLama*), and any old men are also called by this appellation. Grandmother (mother's and father's mother) is *api* (*Ap'hyi*), as are also maternal and paternal grand aunts, nuns, known as *chomos* (*Jo-mo*), and other old women.

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The Lahuli term for father is *apa* (*Ap'ha*), and a distinction is made between eldest father, *apa chembo* (*Ap'ha ch'hen-po*), middle father, *apa chung-ngan* (*Ap'ha ch'hung-ngu*) or *apa panna* (probably an Indian term), and the youngest, *agu* (*A-gu*), by which term (which strictly means paternal uncle), all other younger brothers of the eldest fathers are called.

The mother is known as *ama* (*A-ma*). Husband and wife are both called *zhidmat* (*Zhid-sMat*) or *troks* (*Drogs*). A wife calls her eldest husband *ajo* (*A-jo*) or more respectively *ga-ga* (*Ga-ga*), and the younger ones *no* (*No*) or honorifically *ga-ga chung-ngan* (*Ga-ga ch'hung-ngu*). The eldest husband calls his wife *ache* (*A-ch'he*), (which is another word for sister); the oher husbands call her *nomo* (*No-mo*), while all of them, speaking of her to each other, refer to her as *ane* (*A-ne*) (which also has the meaning of aunt), or *zhidmat*. People outside the family will speak of the wife also as *zhidmat* and of the husbands as *go-bu* (*mGo-Bu*), for the eldest, *panna* (Indian?) for the middle one, and *t'ha-chung-ngan* (*mT'ha-ch'hung-ngu*) for the youngest.

In a polygynous household, the eldest wife goes by the name of *chan-chen* (*Byan-ch'hen*), the second one by that of *Chan-chung-ngan* (*Byan-ch'hung-ngu*), and the youngest is called *yang-chung-ngan* (*Yang-ch'hung-ngu*). Eldest boys, before they are married, are known as *gaga* (*Ga-ga*), and youngest as *no-no* (*No-no*). I have already said that a man called in to a family to produce children when the husbands have failed to do so with their common wife is called a *p'horjag*. Sometimes, a second man is also asked to assist if the first one fails, in which case he is called a *po-chung-ngan* (*P'ho-ch'hung-ngu*). Sons go by the name of *bu-tsa* (*Bu-ts'ha*), while daughters are called *bu-mo* (*Bu-mo*).

The Lahulis of Tibetan cultural affinity belong also to various patrilineal clans, each one descendant from a common ancestor. These are called *rü* (*Rus*), meaning "bone", and those belonging to them are known as *rü-pa* (*Rus-pa*). The Thakur gave me a list of some of the main ones, the name they bore, he said, being that of the ancestor. They are the following:

1. Guram Shing-pa (*Gur-ram Shing-pa*) or Jo (*Jo*), meaning "Sugar cane one" or "Lord", the clan to which he himself belonged. They were descendants, he told me, of the preserved semen of a Tibetan ascetic which had been fertilized on a piece of sugar cane.
2. Lön-chen-pa (*bLon-ch'hen-pa*), "Minister one".
3. Miru-pa (*Mi-rus-pa*), "Human bone one" or "Villager from Miru" (in Ladak).

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6. *Personal field-work research*

After having gathered a certain amount of theoretical information of the kind which I have given above, I felt the necessity to go out and see things for myself. I asked Nono Tse-p'hün to take me to some of the polyandrous households which he knew in the neighbourhood of Leh, and he accepted readily enough.

(i) *Visits to polyandrous households*

Consequently, on the 30th of August 1938, we visited a family living in polyandry in the immediate outskirts of the town. The name of the house was *Tok-Tok* (possibly *Grogs-Grogs* or *T'hog-T'hog*) and consisted of two brothers living polyandrously, and of two of their sons by a first wife also living in this way. I give the genealogy which I made then, in Table 27, by way of illustration.

As we approached the Tok-Tok house I noticed a *Dö* (*mDos*) string cross over the door to catch devils. I remarked upon it and heard that in Ladak it is called a *namgo* (*rNam-mGo?*). The building was a typical Tibetan one, with a flat roof covered with fuel for the winter arranged in packets round the edge, thick stone walls painted white, rectangular doors and windows, the lower part of the frame broader than the upper part, with coloured decorations and a piece of cloth hanging over the top part, a *lha-k'hang* (*lHa-K'hang*) or private chapel on the first floor with *chötens* visible through the window. We entered by the front gate which led into a yard and thence into a stable, from which a staircase took us up to the first floor. It was there that we met the family, and had our talk with our principal informant, the eldest father and former master of the household, Lobsang Tok-Tok.

He told us that he and his brother, Ishe Döndrup, together with their eldest sister, Skalzang Rolma, were the three children of a certain Ishe Tok-Tok now dead. The sister had been married off in *bag-ma* to the now deceased son of the Par-k'hang house (meaning "Printing House"), Samten, with whom she had had no children. She had inherited the property at his death, and would be holding it as long as she lived, or until the little girl she had adopted married and set herself up in the *k'hang-chen* as the heiress. This little girl belonged to the *p'ha-spun* of Skalzang Rolma's former husband and, for this reason, was entitled to inherit the Par-k'hang house.

Lobsang himself, a man in his sixties now, had been married polyandrously with his brother to a certain Tsering Panzom with whom they had had two children, a son called Stobgyal and a girl, Ishe Palkid.

TABLE 27. GENEALOGY OF TOK-TOK (*Grogs-Grogs* or *T'ho*

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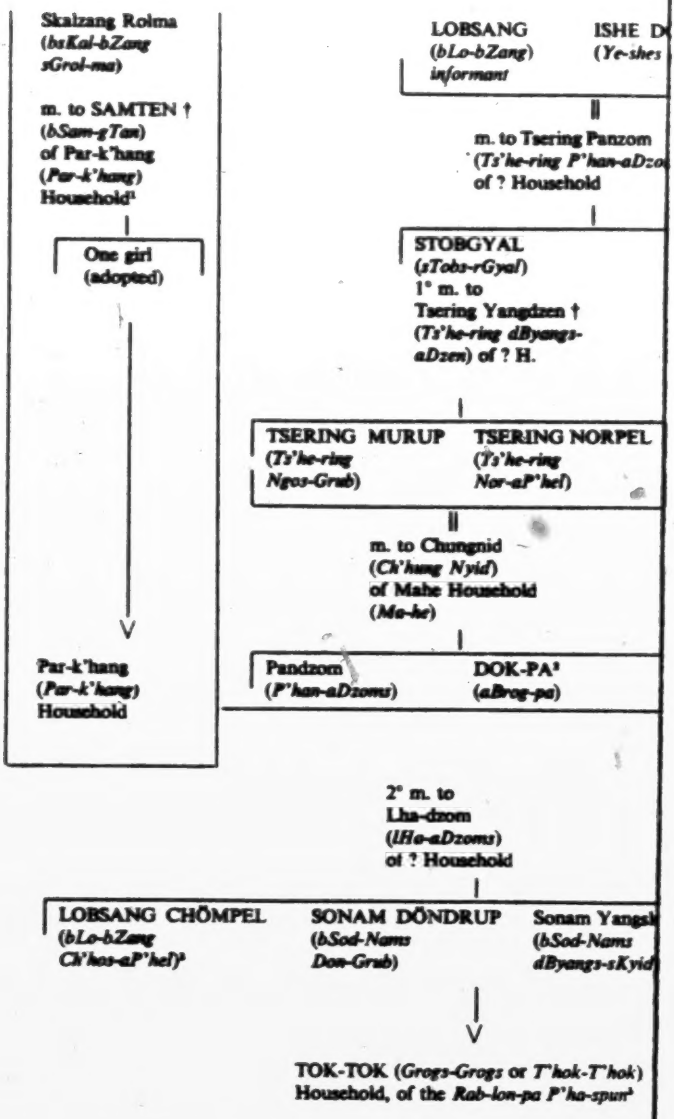


[1] Skalzang Rolma is a widow and owns her late husband's house for the time being. She ha this child will inherit the Par-k'hang Household at the death of her mother by adoption, comes first.

[2] This little boy has no real name yet; the one he bears means "nomad" and has been given to

[3] He is a Gelug-pa lama, and lives in Lhasa.

[4] This little boy has also been given a provisional name, as above, for the same reason; (*aBrog-mo*) alternatively, meaning "female nomad".

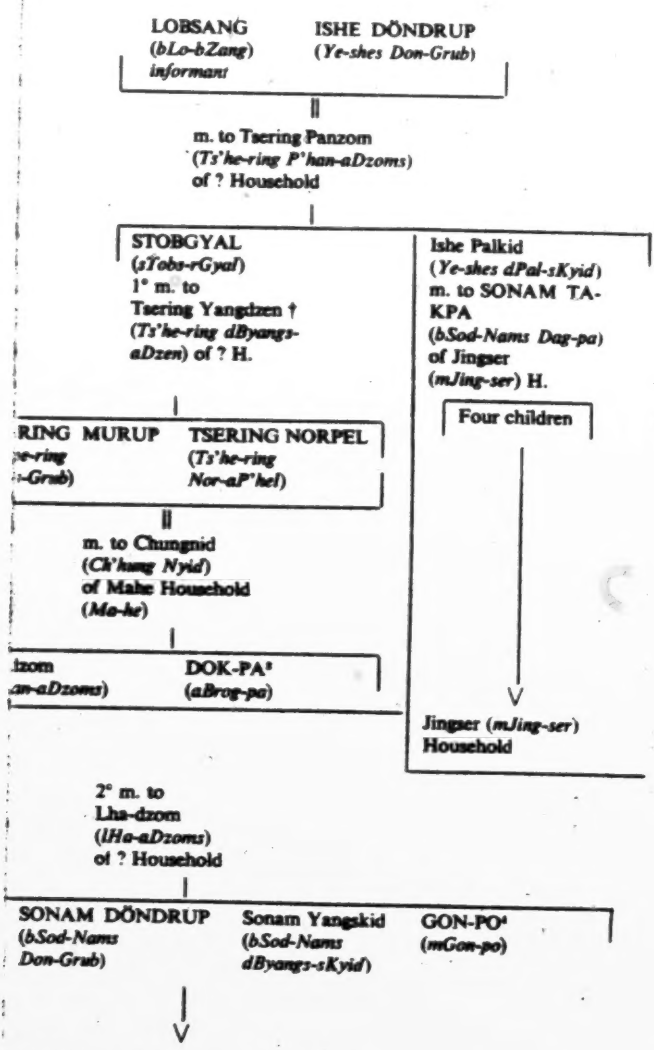
[5] See list of Ladak *P'ha-spuns*.

Capital letters denote males. Small characters are women. † = dead. m. = married. H. =

[facing P. 360-A]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

OF TOK-TOK (*Grogs-Grogs* or *T'hok-T'hok*) HOUSEHOLD. 595 601



TOK-TOK (*Grogs-Grogs* or *T'hok-T'hok*)
Household, of the *Rab-lon-pa P'ha-spun*[5]

husband's house for the time being. She has adopted a little girl relative of her husband and d at the death of her mother by adoption, or when she herself marries a *mag-pa*, whichever

ars means "nomad" and has been given to him provisionally to avert the evil eye from him. [054]

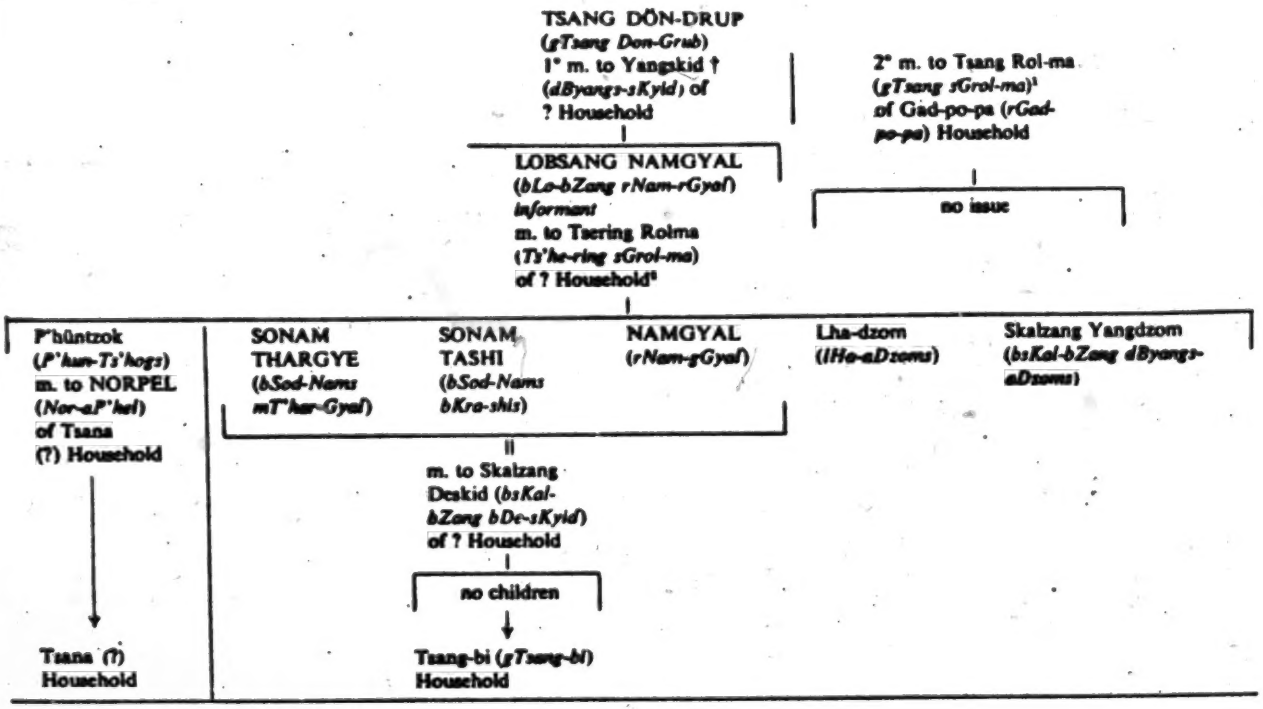
al name, as above, for the same reason: it means "protector". He is also called Dok-mo [551]
ad".

women. † = dead. m. = married. H. = Household

[facing P. 360-B]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

TABLE 28. GENEALOGY OF TSANG-BI (*gTsang-bi*) HOUSEHOLD.



[1] Living in the *k'hang-gu*. See Table 32.
[2] Parents, five children and the wife of the three boys all living in the *k'hang-chen*.
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

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24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595 123 182 a livelihood – like the Moslem Ladakis who went to Burma. I was, I confess, considerably impressed by the old man's perspicacity. It was also a lesson to me, and showed me better than anything else what circumstances were like in this area of Tibetan culture, and how polyandry was connected, or appeared to be, with the economic necessities of the environment.

595 601 That same afternoon, we went on to visit another polyandrous family living in a neighbouring house. Here, an elderly father, remarried to a new wife after his first wife had died, lived in a *k'hang-gu* situated on the family grounds, very close to the ancestral house, the *k'hang-chen*. In the latter, his son by the deceased wife, now lived with his wife and [115] five of six children that the couple had had. This son was our informant, and apart from the polyandry in which the sons lived, I was [888] interested to see how grandparents and parents resided separately. Their [591] genealogy is to be found in Table 28.

591 595 888 Lobsang Namgyal's eldest daughter was married off in *bag-ma* to the eldest son of the Tsana household. His three sons were still very young (the eldest only just eighteen) but were already married polyandrously to Skalzang Deskid. She had no children yet, and I was told that they were waiting for her to have her first baby to put Lobsang Namgyal and his wife, Tsering Rolma, into a second *k'hang-gu*. This is some- [425] times done in Ladak, instead of taking over from the parents directly [428] after the wedding; it is as if the newly-married had no reason yet to [585] become the official owners of the family property. The two younger daughters, still very small, would move into the new *k'hang-gu* with their parents, I was told, and would remain there until they were married out in *bag-ma*. Asked where the "small house" was into which father and mother would eventually move, I was informed that they would take the place of Tsang Dön-drup and his wife, Tsang Rolma. These two would then go to another *k'hang-gu* situated on another piece of ancestral land, and in which grandparents always resided in the Tsang-bi family. It was quite apparent that the different portions reserved for retiring elders were always the same, awaiting new occupants which the inexorable march of time brought to them.

595 601 On the following day, August 31st 1938, Nono Tse-P'hün took me [888] to more polyandrous households of Leh. First, we visited a family [591] called *Od-ldan* (*aOd-lDan*) in which an heiress had married in *mag-pa*, and lived in the *k'hang-gu* while her three boys, living in polyandry, occupied the *k'hang-chen*. Their genealogy as I made it that day, is given in Table 29.

*[i.e., Lobsang Namgyal -- Analyst]

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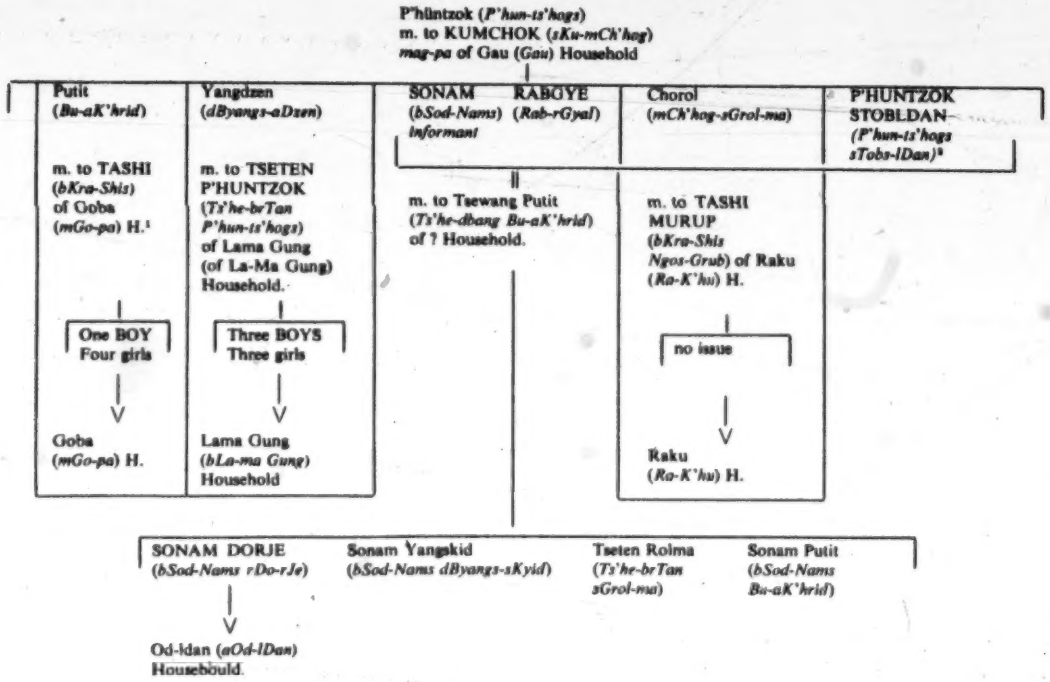
TABLE 29. GENEALOGY OF OD-LDAN (*aOd-lDan*) HOUSEHOLD.


P'hüntzok (P'hun-ts'hogs)
m. to KUMCHOK (sKu-mCh'hog)
mag-pa of Gau (Gau) Household
Putit (Bu-aK'hrid)
m. to TASHI (bKra-Shis) of Goba (mGo-pa) H.[1]
One BOY Four girls
Goba (mGo-pa) H.
Yangdzen (dByangs-aDzen)
m. to TSETEN P'HUNTZOK (Ts'he-brTan P'hun-ts'hogs) of Lama Gung (of La-Ma Gung) Household.
Three BOYS Three girls
Lama Gung (bLa-ma Gung) Household
SONAM (bSod-Nams) RABGYE (Rab-rGyal) Informant
m. to Tsewang Putit (Ts'he-dbang Bu-aK'hrid) of ? Household.
Chorol (mCh'hog-sGrol-ma)
m. to TASHI MURUP (bKra-Shis Ngos-Grub) of Raku (Ra-K'hu) H.
no issue
Raku (Ra-K'hu) H.
P'HUNTZOK STOBLDAN (P'hun-ts'hogs sTobs-lDan)[2]
SONAM DORJE (bSod-Nams rDo-rJe)
Od-ldan (aOd-lDan) Household.
Sonam Yangkid (bSod-Nams dByangs-sKyid)
Tseten Rolma (Ts'he-brTan sGrol-ma)
Sonam Putit (bSod-Nams Bu-aK'hrid)

[1] Tashi has two brothers, and Putit is married polyandrously to these, too.
[2] He is the third husband of Tsewang Putit.
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

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Ladak

right thing. It was very characteristic of the morality of polyandrous people in Ladak. I noticed, furthermore, in the Od-ldan household, that all fathers of the polyandrous family, Sonom, Rabgye and P'hunt-zok Stobldan, were called *ap'ha* (*A-p'ha*) "father" by their children, without there being made any distinction between elder, middle, or little father, as was more usual elsewhere.

That afternoon, we went on to visit the *Goba* (*mGo-pa*) household close by. Here too, we found the parents in the *k'hang-gu* and the married children living in polyandry, with their own children, in the *k'hang-chen*. Putit of Od-ldan, who was the lady of the house here, received us and acted as informant. I made the genealogy of the family which I give here, in Table 30.

Two brothers, Lobsang and Ishe Dön-drup, were married polyandrously to Tashi Dzom-pa, whose household name I do not know. They had seven children and when the eldest boy, Tashi, got married, together with his two brothers, Padma and Sonam Tashi, to Putit of the Od-ldan household, they immediately left the *k'hang-chen* to them and went and lived in the *k'hang-gu*. They were there now, but we were unable to see them, as they had gone to Leh for the day. Lobsang was now dead, and Ishe Dön-drup lived alone with Tashi Dzompa. Their field was cultivated for them by their children of the *k'hang-chen*, so that the old people had a peaceful time.

They had always been alone in the *k'hang-gu*, as they had never had any unmarried daughters to stay with them. Ku-skid and Tsering Palkid were married off in *bag-ma* very early, so early in the case of the last daughter, that the informant could not give us the name of her husband.

The second son of the household, Stanzin, had not accepted Putit as a common wife, and had preferred to leave and go as a *mag-pa* to the heiress of a neighbouring house, Tsering Rolma of P'ho-la. It was difficult to get details from Putit about this and we did not press her, feeling that her reticence was natural. There was another *mag-pa* in the family, Dön-drup Sonam, who was married to Yangskid, heiress of the household which my notes have as Jigsten-pa.

Putit herself had had five children with her three husbands, one boy and four girls, all of whom called their fathers *ap'ha* (*A-p'ha*), indiscriminately, as in the previous case.

On the 1st September 1938, I went to yet another polyandrous household of Leh, called *Mahe* (*Ma-he*). It, too, was in the outskirts of the town and Nono Tse-P'hün and I found it at the end of a long passage between two walls delimitating fields, as is often the custom in Ladak.

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Ladak

TABLE 30. GENEALOGY OF THE GOBA (*mGo-pa*

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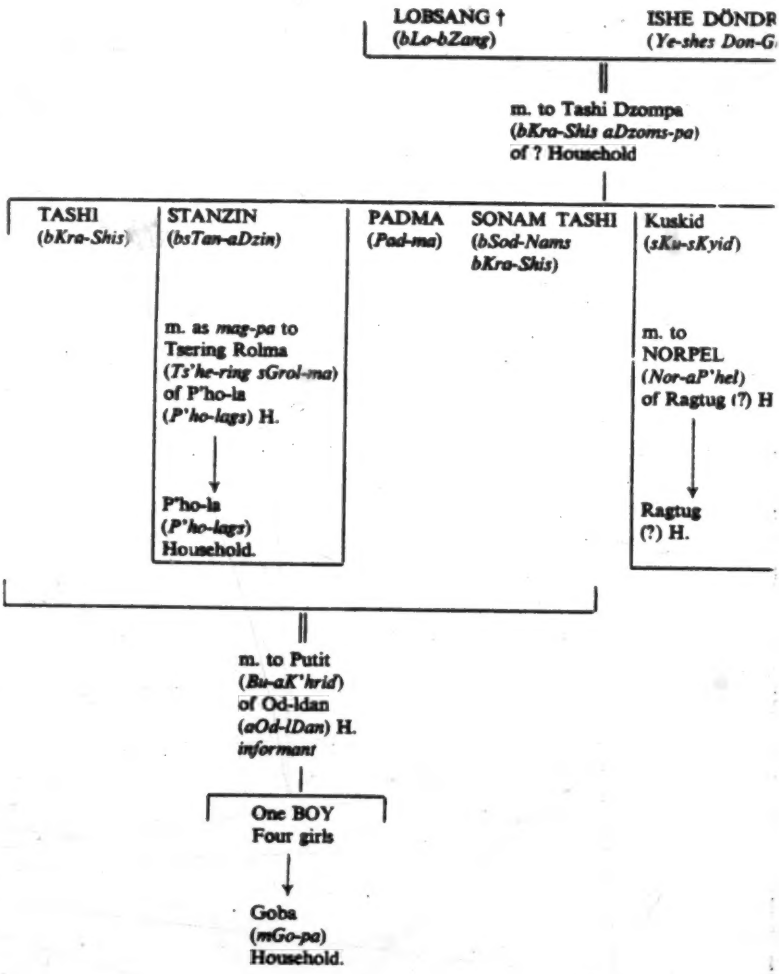

[1] Name unknown because Tsering Palkid was married off in *bag-ma* so early that it is alle
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

[facing P. 367-A]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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GY OF THE GOBA (*mGo-pa*) HOUSEHOLD.

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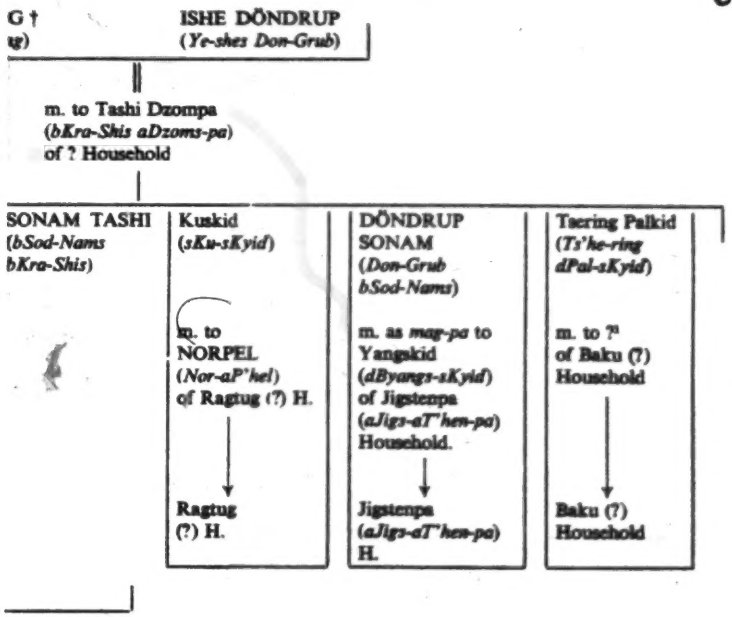

off in *bag-ma* so early that it is allegedly not remembered.

[facing P. 367 - B]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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There was an entrance gate, a yard with a stable, a first floor with a *lha-k'hang*, as is usual. In this house which constituted the *k'hang-chen*, we found a family of two men, their common wife and three boys, as well as a divorced sister of the brothers. At the end of the field, attaining to the house, was a smaller building, with a field of its own. This was the *k'hang-gu*, and in it were the parents of the men. These parents consisted of a decrepit old hag and her three old husbands, and they had been living there for some six years already. The eldest of the men in the *k'hang-chen*, named Sonam Tsewang, acted as the informant, and it was with him that I made the genealogical tree of the family as shown here in Table 31.

The eldest sister of the fathers in the *k'hang-gu* was dead, it seemed. She had been married off in *bag-ma* to two brothers of a household called Chubipa, and she had had sons to continue the line there. The three brothers had married one woman called Sonam Putit – the old hag who was living with the men -- and these people had had five children, three daughters and two boys.

The eldest daughter, Tsewang Palmo, had fallen in love and married a Christian called Dorge, much to her family's displeasure, not so much because of the difference in religion, but because, being a convert of the mission, he had no land of his own (he had been excluded by his own family) and had to work as a peon. The second daughter, Standzin Rolma, had married into a household called Kushu but had since divorced and had returned to her brothers. She now lived in the *k'hang-chen* as is the custom, and her brothers had to see to it that she was maintained. I was not able to find out under what circumstances she divorced.

The two boys, Sonam Tsewang and Skalzang, were married polyandrously with a woman named Ishe Rolma. They had three boys with her, and the continuity of the Mahe household through males was thus assured. A sister, born between the birthdays of the two men, called Chungnid, was the one we had met at the Tok-Tok household on the 30th of August. She was married polyandrously in *bag-ma* there to the two sons of Stobgye, Tsering Murup and Tsering Norpel.

We spent the afternoon of the same day at the house of an *amchi* or native Tibetan doctor, the *Gadpo-pa* (*rGad-po-pa*) Household. There was only a grandmother alive in this house, and she lived in the *k'hang-gu* reserved for her. The son, Chonde, who was a doctor, lived in a larger *k'hang-gu* than usual, because, as an *amchi*, he had private means and could add to the small home as he wanted. Actually, the

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TABLE 31. GENEALOGY OF MAHE (*Ma-he*)

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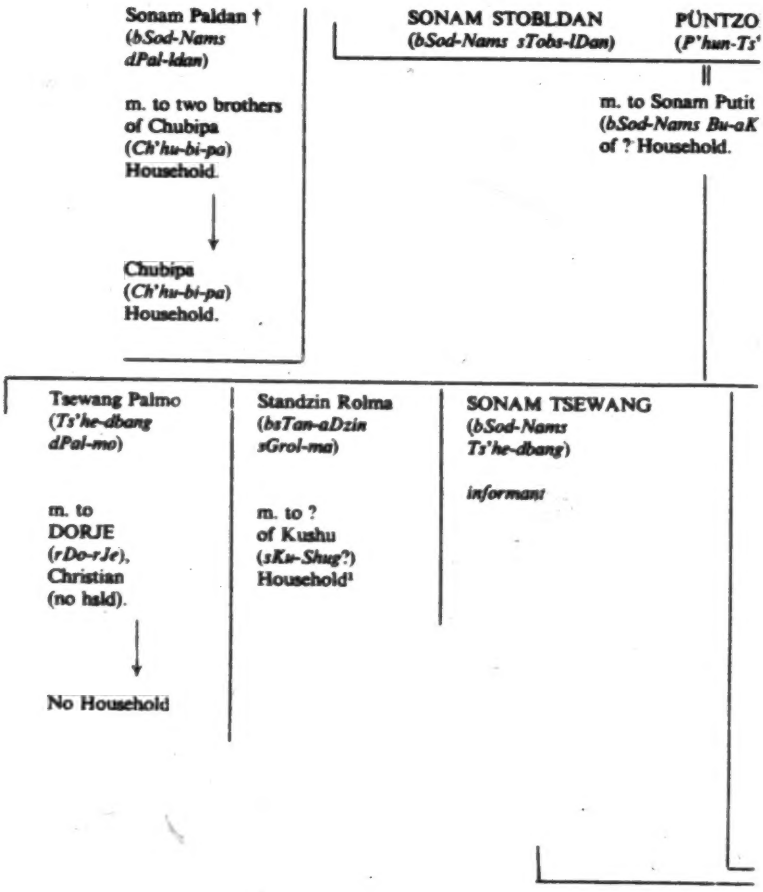

[1] She has divorced her husband and has returned to live with her brothers.
[2] See Table 27.
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

[facing P. 368-A]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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LOGY OF MAHE (*Ma-he*) HOUSEHOLD.

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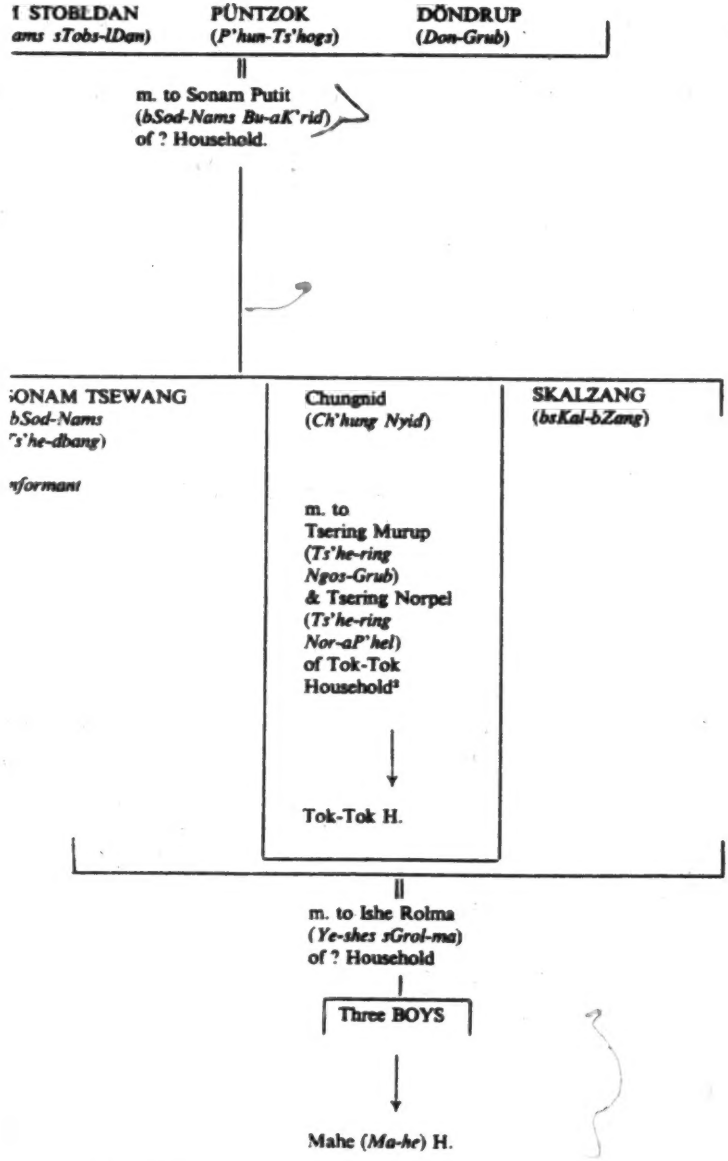

e with her brothers.

[facing P. 368-B]

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Ladak

profession is hereditary, and although the other members of the family lived as peasants, one of the sons, usually the eldest, was educated as a doctor and became proficient in the trade, extra to the otherwise habitual agricultural work.

In the *k'hang-chen*, we found no less than four married men, sharing a very young wife (I was told that she was only fifteen, but considering that she had five children already, I feel that this could not have been true). The genealogy of the family is given here in Table 32.

The informant, Chonde, had two sisters, one older and one younger. They were both married off in *bag-ma*, and the youngest proved to be Tsewang Rolma whom we had met in the Tsang-bi Household, where she was wed to Tsang Dondrup as his second wife.

Of the informant's children, one, the third, had became a lama, while the fifth had preferred to go and be the *mag-pa* of the Amchi family (a related doctor's household, but bearing the name of the trade as a patronimic) than to remain at home with his brothers and share their common wife.

I did not visit another polyandrous household and make its genealogy until the 17th September 1938. And when I did so, it was at Chushod, opposite Leh, on the left bank of the Indus. Most of the inhabitants of this town are Musulmans, but there are a few Buddhist famililes among them, and it was interesting to see how they had retained their customs, including polyandry.

The family which Nono Tse-P'hün had specially brought me to see, however, was one in which there was a *porjag*, that is an extra man brought in when the husband or husbands fail to produce a child with their wife. The household name of this family was *Shing-k'hang pa* (*Shing-K'hang-pa*), and it consisted of only one man and his wife, Rigzin and Ishe Palkid, to which a younger man, the *porjag*, called Paldan, had been added. I made their genealogy, which I give in Table 33. It will be seen that other members of the household had left it to marry outside: Ngawang Standzin to become a lama, another brother of Rigzin, Skalzang, to become a *mag-pa*, a sister, now called Amina, who, having married a Musulman and changed her religion, was not considered to be part of the Buddhist community any longer, and Ishe Paljor, the youngest, who was a *porjag* in the Bata household (see Table 34).

The *k'hang-gu* in the fields of this household stood empty, its occupants, Rigzin's parents, P'huntzok and Paldzom, being dead now. The *k'hang-chen* which we visited was a house of normal Ladaki pro-

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Ladak

TABLE 32. GENEALOGY OF THE GAD-PO-PA (*rGa*

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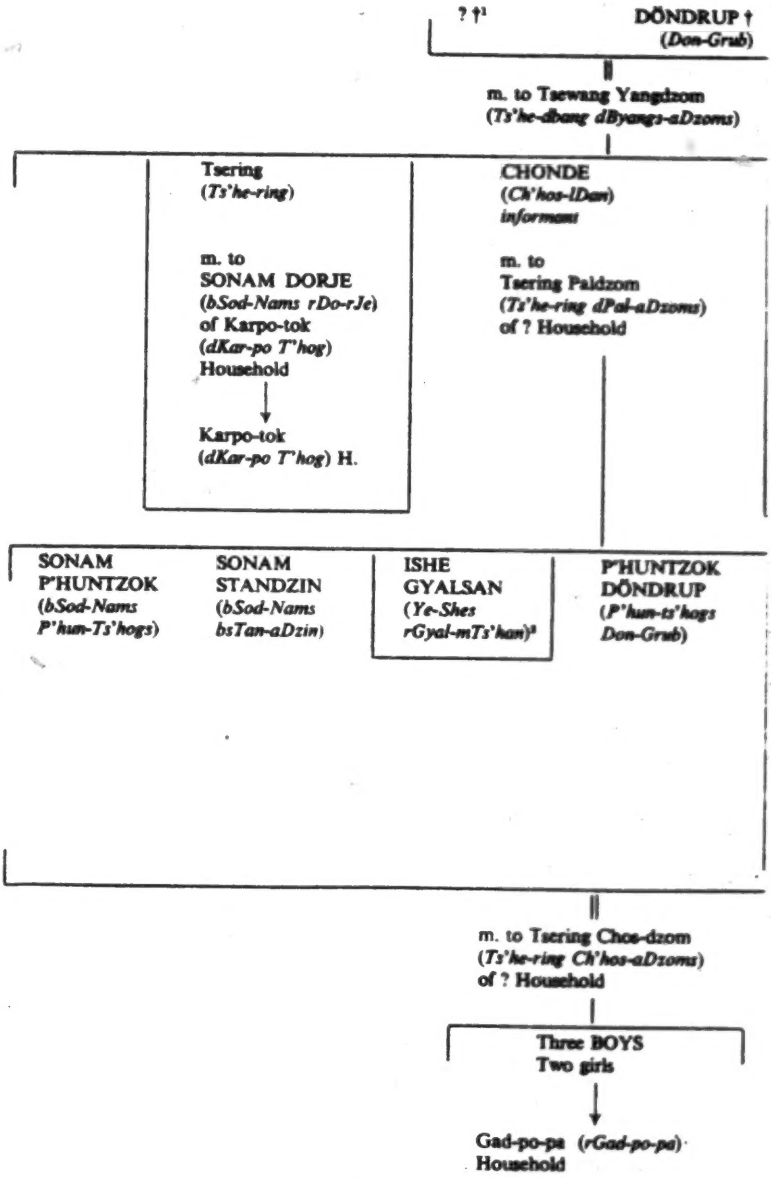

[1] Name unreadable in my notes.
[2] Has become a Gelug-pa lama in the Sankar gompa.
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

[facing P. 369-A]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

OF THE GAD-PO-PA (*rGad-po-pa*) HOUSEHOLD.

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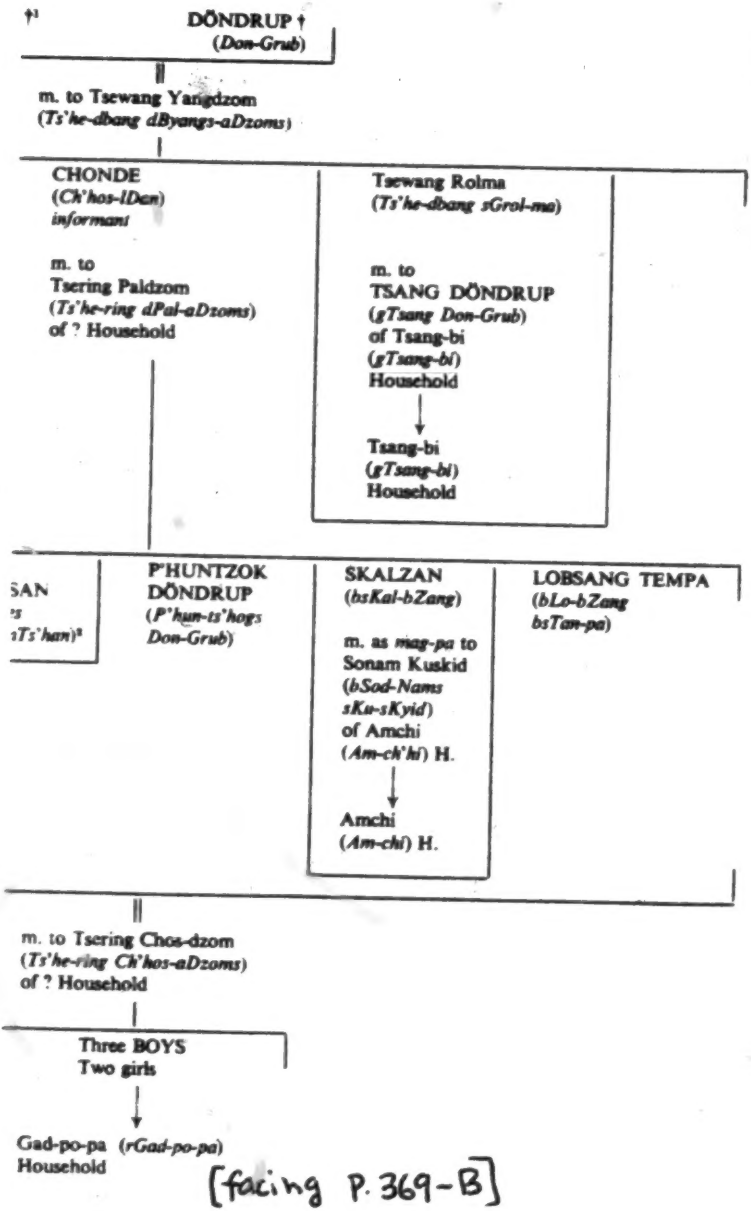
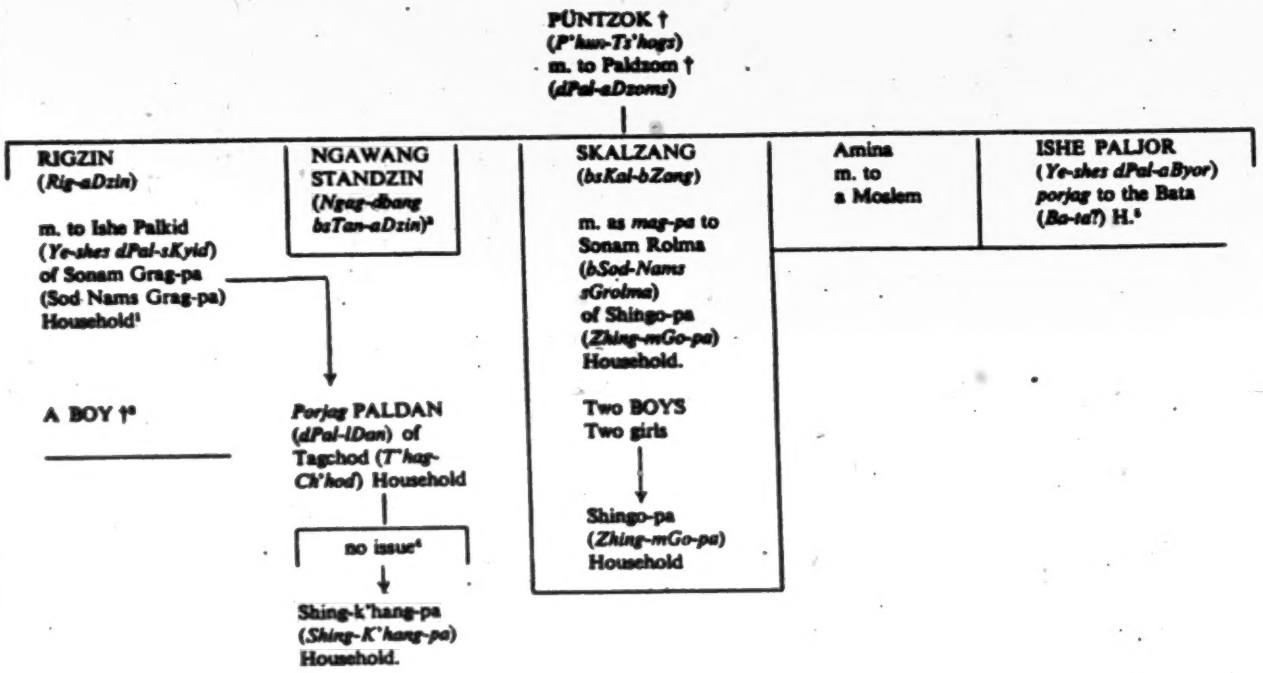


[facing P. 369-B]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

TABLE 33. GENEALOGY OF THE SHING-K'HANG-PA (*Shing-K'hang-pa*) HOUSEHOLD.



[1] Ishe Palkid was married when she was twenty-one years old.
[2] The child was still-born.
[3] A lama.
[4] They are thinking of adopting a child to continue the household.
[5] See Table 34.

Conventional signs as in Table 27.

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595 114 form which I gave it then. I have since learned Tibetan, and I had the good fortune to be able to review it with my Ladaki informant, Nono Tse-P'hün, in Kalimpong, on the 3rd December 1953, so that I have made many corrections in the spelling, and have given what now appears to be the correct orthography of the names.

595 601 [115] The Bata household was situated quite close to Leh, in the immediate vicinity, like the first families which we visited: It consisted of four people, one elderly man called Döndrup, his son Murup, the latter's wife Palkid, and her *porjag* whose name was Paljor; he was the youngest of the Shing-k'hang-pa household which we had examined earlier, and the genealogy of which is given in Table 33. All these people acted as informants, Nono Tse-P'hün gathering information for me not from only one of them but rather from them all together as they stood outside their house and talked with us. They all lived in the Bata *k'hang-chen*, there being no reason, as we shall see, for Döndrup, the elder, to go to a *k'hang-gu*. The house was of the usual type, standing close to the cultivations. We remained outside, and spoke to these people in the field, as can be seen from the photograph (Fig. 41), which I took at the conclusion of the interview.

[591] [126]

In Table 34, in which the genealogy of the *Tsong-k'har-pa* (*bTsong-mK'har-pa*) household is given, it will be seen that the Bata household grew out of it in the following way. Döndrup's father, Tsong-gu Malik, now dead, was married to a woman called Sonam of the Bata household, one which was well-known in Leh. They had three children, all boys, of whom Döndrup was the youngest. With the elder brothers, P'hüntzok and Pe-leg, he married polyandrously a woman named Putit of P'ho-sang household. And with this common wife, the brothers had no less than twelve children, of whom six died and six survived.

[428] Döndrup's mother, Sonam, died after all her brothers, and no heirs remained for the Bata household from which she had come; none were even adopted it seemed. For this reason, after P'hüntzok and Pe-leg had taken over the *k'hang-chen* of the Tsong-k'har-pa house, Döndrup was made heir to the Bata household, that is the one of his mother. He went and lived there immediately, and the sons he had with his brothers' common wife, helped him to cultivate the land there.

[599] [553] [591] The eldest of these boys, Ishe Paljor, together with his brother, Ishe (now dead), then married a certain Moslem woman, who took the name Senghe Tsomo when she became Buddhist (as she should to marry Buddhists). These children then took over the *k'hang-chen*, and P'hüntzok and Pe-leg moved into the *k'hang-gu* at Tsong-k'har-pa. A third

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

TABLE 34. GENEALOGY OF TSONG-K'HAR-PA (*bTsong-mK'har-pa*)

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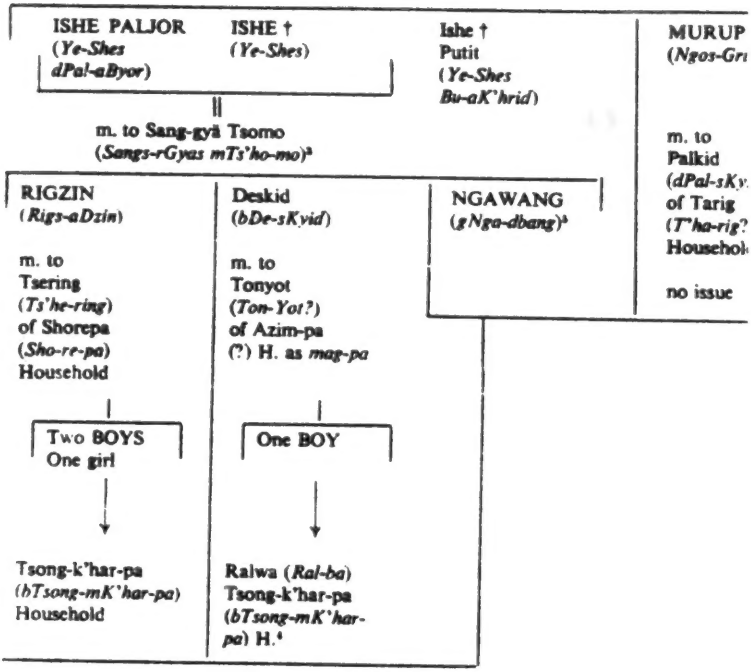

[551]

[1] "Little Tsong king", obviously a nickname with a Moslem connotation (Malik = Arabic for "king").

[2] Dondrup received the Bata household, as all his mother's brothers died without heirs.

[3] She was a Moslem, but changed religion and name to marry her husband.

Conventional signs as in Table 27.

[facing P. 392-A]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

Tsong-mK'har-pa) HOUSEHOLD.

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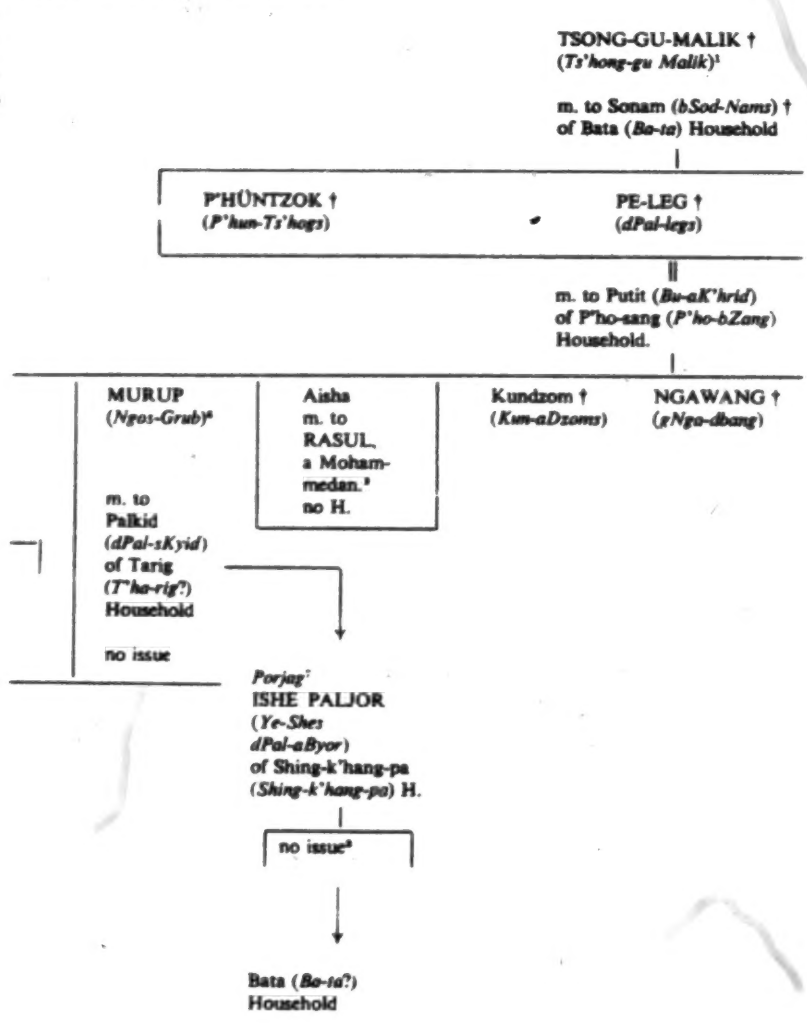
[551]



station (Malik =

ners died without

husband.

⁴ Deskid was a tenant without occupation on some land *mag-pa* ad founded the Ralwa Tsong-k'har-pa H.

⁵ He is a lama at Himis gompa.

⁶ Murup received the Bata H. and continued it, while Ishe the Tsong-k'har-pa Household.

[facing P. 392-B]

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Ladak

IG-GU-MALIK †
ng-gu Malik)[5]

Sonam (*bSod-Nams*) †
a (*Bo-ta*) Household

PE-LEG †
(*dPal-legs*)

DÖNDRUP
(*Don-Grub*)[6]

Putit (*Bu-aK'hrid*)
o-sang (*P'ho-bZang*)
hold.

NGAWANG †
(*gNga-dbang*)

TSERING †
(*Ts'he-ring*)

Kundzom
(*Kun-aDoms*)[10]

m. to
DOGPA
(*aBrog-pa*)
of Ragasha
(*Rag-k'ha-sha*)
H.

TASHI
(*bKra-Shis*)

m. to
Sonam Tsomo
(*bSod-Nams mTs'ho-mo*)
of Chömpel
(*Ch'hos-aP'hel*)
H.

One BOY

Ragasha
(*Rag-k'ha-sha*)
Household

Tsomo
(*mTs'ho-mo*)

m. to
TSERING
PALJOR
(*Ts'he-ring dPal-aByor*)
of Azhang-ni
(*A-Zhang-Nyis-pa*)
Household

no issue

Azhang-ni-p
(*A-Zhang-Nyis-pa*) H.

ccupation on some land of her brother: she took a
Tsong-k'har-pa H.

d continued it, while Ishe Paljor and Ishe continued

[facing P. 372—C]

7 *Porjag* taken after
8 Childless still after
9 Moslem name as
10 Same name as earli
11 Moh. convert to B
12 No name: this one

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595
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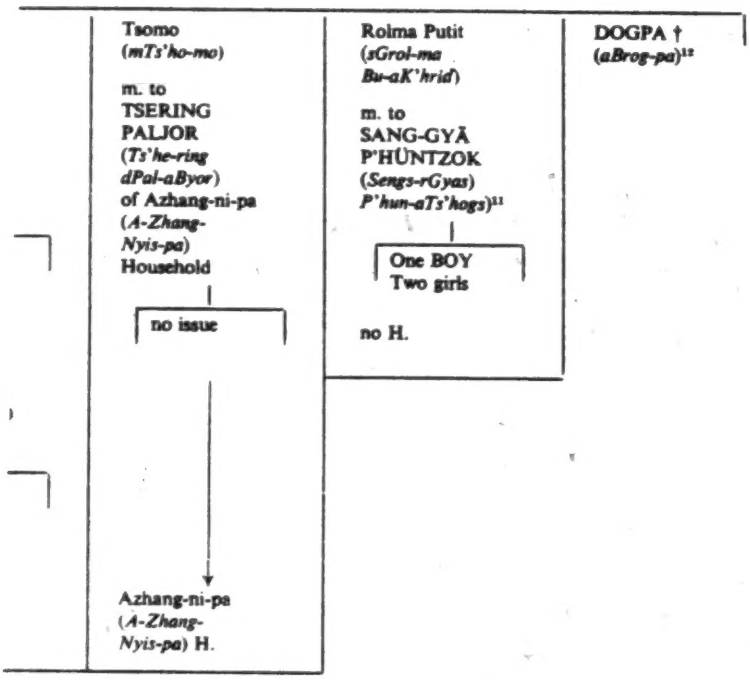

[7] *Porjag* taken after 20 years of childless marriage.
[8] Childless still after 4 years could adopt a child.
[9] Moslem name as married a Moslem.
[10] Same name as earlier dead girl in commemoration.
[11] Moh. convert to Budh. Is now manager of Himis gompa.
[12] No name: this one against the evil eye (means "nomad").

[facing P. 392-D]

[551]
[554]

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son, Murup, was, however, made Döndrup's heir at the Bata household, so that he came to join his youngest father there, without putting the latter in a *k'hang-gu*. Some time later, he married Palkid of Tarig, and continued to live with his father in the Bata *k'hang-chen*. This was some twenty four years ago, and in the meantime, Palkid not having any children, it was decided that a *porjag* should be called in. The reason for this was apparently not only because of the wife's sterility. As in the earlier case at Shing-k'hang-pa, I was told that Döndrup and Murup were insufficient to cultivate the land, and that another man was needed. Ishe Paljor of Shing-k'hang-pa household was thus called in four years before my visit, and duly married to Palkid as her extra husband. He was certainly a help in working the fields, but he in no way remedied the barrenness of Murup's wife. She told me that they were now thinking adopting an heir, but she could not say whom they had in mind at this early stage.

In the Tsong-k'har-pa household, I heard, there were now three *k'hang-gus:* one was that in which Putit, Döndrup's mother, lived (she was still alive); the other, the one in which Ishe Paljor and Sang-gyü Tsomo lived (Ishe, the younger brother had died after the polyandrous marriage); and the third was the quite paradoxical case of Deskid, the couple's daughter, who had rented one from her brother, Rigzin, who was now in possession of the *k'hang-chen* with his wife, Tsering of Shorepa, and their three children. On this rented portion, of which she was a tenant without occupation, she lived with a *mag-pa* whom she had taken to herself, a certain Tonyot of Azim-pa, and had one boy. Her share was considered as a split-off portion of the Tsong-k'har-pa household, and bore the name of Ralwa Tsong-k'har-pa, or "cleft Tsong-k'har-pa". Her son was apparently considered to be the heir to this new household, but how this was possible, considering the tenancy was of so precarious a nature, was not explained to me.

Rigzin and Deskid had a younger brother, Ngawang, who had, however, left the family before his elder brother married, and become a lama at Himis gompa. He was entitled to a share of the family property in accordance with Ladaki customary law, but for the time being was not claiming it, and lived together with his fellow-monks on the revenue of the monastery. He was also entitled to share his elder brother's wife with the latter, his order not being celibate, but it was not specified whether he did so or not.

Döndrup told us that of his other children, a daughter, now called Aisha, bore that name because she had married a Moslem Ladaki with whom she lived in Leh.

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595 whom she lived in Leh. Three other daughters, Kundzom, Tsomo and
601 Rolma Putit, were all married out in *bag-ma*, the two first of these, at
[797] least, to other families. They were the mistresses, respectively, of the Ragasha and the Azhang-ni-pa households, but their younger sister had married a certain Sang-gyä P'hüntzok who, curiously enough, was a convert to Buddhism from his original Moslem faith, – surely a very rare occurrence. He was employed as a manager of the Himis gompa, where he was in charge of trade and accounts, and made a comfortable
[792] living. But he had no household, and no *zhing-kham* to hand down, so that they lived in quarters in the monastery grounds. His conversion was responsible for this; the situation could nevertheless be remedied if he purchased some land and settled on it. The couple had three children, and the succession was thus assured beforehand.

595 (ii) *Information gathered concerning the functioning of polyandry in*
114 *Ladak*

From all these families that I visited with Nono Tseten P'hüntzok between the 30th August and the 18th September 1938, I gathered much information as to the rules of polyandry, and how these marriages functioned.

184 I heard thus of the manner in which polyandry is regulated in Ladak.
595 In many ways, it appeared to be very similar to what I had already learned in Lahul, except that, perhaps because of the climate being colder, there seemed to be less sexual privacy. Another reason for this, probably, was that the Ladaki is more sedentary than the Lahuli and does not leave his home as regularly on commercial trips, so that one alone out of a woman's many husbands remains with her; in Ladak, all the brothers are almost constantly resident in the family house, and it is consequently more difficult to establish a sort of roster between them in their relations with the common wife.

595 Every house in Leh has a large common room, well heated because
342 the kitchen fireplace is either in it or close by, in another smaller room
[354] which communicates with it. This room is the one in which the entire family of the *k'hang-chen* lives during the long winter months, the one in which everything goes on all day and all night, eating, sleeping, procreation and the like. Its name is the *Jan-sa* (*Byan-sa*), which means "kitchen place", and I was told that the main reason for which everybody lives here in winter, herded together, is because it is warm and there is not enough fuel to heat the other rooms in the house.

595 Of course, it is not a rule that public mating in the *Jan-sa* takes place.
833

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A. Wilson, in *The Abode of Snow* (see Bibliography), says: "I was a little surprised to find that one of the Moravian missionaries defended the polyandry of the Tibetans, not as a thing to be approved of in the abstract and tolerated among Christians, but as good for the heathen of so sterile a country. In taking this view, he proceeded on the argument that superabundant population, in an unfertile country, must be a great calamity, and produce 'eternal warfare or eternal want'." (p. 647).

Captain H. L. Ramsay, in his *Western Tibet* (see Bibliography), goes even further and states that "it would be a misfortune if, with the introduction of Christianity, monogamy was introduced (in Ladak)". To this, the Reverend A. H. Francke, also of the Moravian Mission, writing in 1907, has to say that before Christianity came to Ladak, Mohammedanism was already there, and it is to the Moslems that we must look, before anything else, for change in matrimonial customs. In his opinion, polyandry is a disgusting practice which cannot be defended, and which should be replaced by a more ethical form of matrimony. The *Code of Tribal Custom of the Ladakh Tehsil* (see Bibliography) agrees with him in this, and, while stating that polyandry has obvious economic reasons for its existence, also maintains that it darkens the picture from a moral point of view and should not be allowed to continue.

In an article published in the Sunday Amrita Bazaar Patrika, a Calcutta newspaper, on March 16th 1952, and entitled "Poverty, Mass Ignorance and Social Evils in Ladakh", the special correspondent of the paper in Kashmir expresses the very current Indian opinion that "Two social evils, ugly and venomous, are eating into the vitals of Ladakh Buddhists. One is the custom of polyandry . . . the other the very common use of *chang* (beer)." He goes on to say, in the most significant passage of the article: "The supposed aim of polyandry, to keep the population within narrow limits, can only be reached if a number of women are ready to remain single. But this is not easy to achieve in any society and the result is immorality. From conditions obtaining in the country, I am forced to believe that polyandry has undermined the powers of increase of the people." For him, the only way to do away with the evil is to improve conditions in the land so that "the development of resources of the district bring enough wealth and strong public opinion" against polyandry.

(iv) *Other relevant information*

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Enquiries about the kinship system in Ladak which I made, led me to observe that it was in every way a Western Tibetan one, identical terms

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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being used to those in Lahul. For this reason, it is unnecessary for me to repeat what I have already written in the passage about this in my description of Lahul, and the reader is referred to it (see p. 326-7). Two new terms, however, did come to light: *oma chik-pa* (*aO-ma gChig-pa*) for a milk brother or sister, and *chos-pün* (*Ch'hos sPun*) for brothers in a religious order. The kinship system is descriptive, and is only used in a classificatory manner when addressing strangers (*meme* for old men and lamas assimilated to grandfathers, *ama* for strange women of the age of one's mother, etc.).

The patrilineal clans, each descendant from a common ancestor, which I encountered in Lahul under the name of *rü* (*Rus*), are called *P'haspun* (*P'ha-sPun* or *P'has-sPun*) in Ladak. In accordance with H. A. Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (1949), p. 330, this name is given the English meaning of "several neighbours or inhabitants of a village that have a common *Lha* (or god) and thus have become *rus-pa cig-cig*, members of the same family; this common tie entails on them the duty whenever a death takes place, of caring for the cremation of the dead body".

From Nono Tse-P'hün, however, I learned that a *p'haspun* was primarily the group formed by all the male descendants of one paternal ancestor, and only secondarily really, by corruption, the group consisting of all those males who worship the same *Lha* or who are associated for burial purposes. Later, in 1953, when we met again, this time in Kalimpong, at the other end of India, he added something to the definition he had given me fifteen years earlier. He said that a *p'haspun* was a group consisting of men associated for purposes of financial support in difficult times.

It appears, thus, that in Ladak, although the *p'haspuns* are, first and foremost, patrilineal lineages or clans whose ancestry is traceable to a single common progenitor and who worship a common *Lha* or god, they are also groups of kinfolk with a certain definite obligation of the members towards one another, namely that of caring for the cremation of the dead body when a death occurs within the group, and with the rather more ill-defined duty of helping each other financially in periods of economic distress.

It is as though the Tibetan archaic, patrilineal, corporate group of the lineage had overflowed its ancient, strictly parental nature in Ladak, and with time had assumed additional social significance, thus playing an important role in the economic life of a polyandrous people. I say this because we saw in Lahul – and, as we shall see from the material

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Tibet AJ1

WT T 572 839 [115]

one of them is married, or gets married later, it is agreed that the friends will also share the wife. When Don-chen-la died, Norgyäs was left alone with their common spouse, and he came to Ladak with her.

I asked the informant if he knew of cases of exchange of wives, in which married men had simply taken each other's wives, as I had heard of this before I visited Ladak, but had not been able to find any actual cases. He told me that this did happen, precisely between people who were *skyidug-chik-pa*. If they both married, they would exchange the women after some time, to show that they really did have everything in common, and then later revert back to those they originally had. Thus, he knew of a certain Changling Cholak and a *Dzong-pön* (*Dzong-dPon*) or magistrate, called Nichang(?), who were linked by such a "happiness-grief-identical" relation in Lhasa. They exchanged their wives in this manner, even after they had had children with them. The offspring did not, however, follow the mother, but remained with the father (presumably until the mother returned home again after some years).

WT T 839

Norgyäs assured me, too, that wives were often offered to important guests when they visited a family, although the custom was declining. Joseph insisted that this did not exist in Ladak, and that he had never come across it there. Norgyäs, however, said that he knew of Ladaki cases of such hospitality too, and Joseph said that it must, then, be close to the Chang-t'hang borders. The bandit admitted that this was so, in the neighbourhood of lake Pang-kong, in the extreme east.

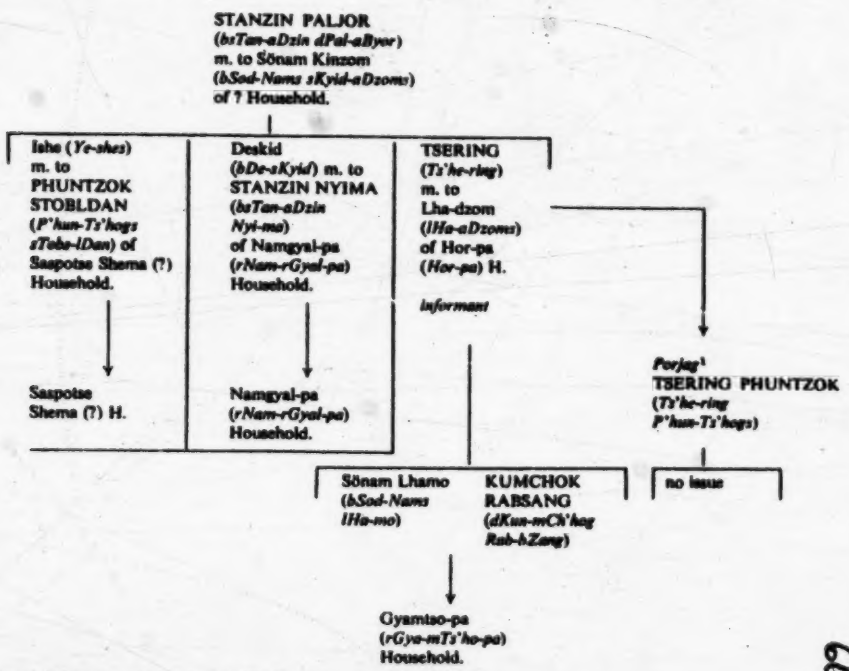
WT 595 601 WT [115] WT [591]

2. *Polyandrous families at Kalatse and Mulbek*

On the 4th October 1938 at Kalatse, Joseph Gergan took me to a household named Gyamtso-pa, where there was a *porjag*, that is, where non-fraternal polyandry was practised. I made the genealogy of this family, and it is given in Table 35. The informant was Lha-dzom, a woman, about thirty five years old, with a lively manner, who seemed very pleased to give us all the details which we wished to learn from her. She and her two husbands, Tsering and Tsering P'hüntzok, together with her two children, Sonam Lhamo, a girl, and Kumchok Rabsang, a boy, lived in a *k'hang-chen*, while her first husband's father and mother lived in the *k'hang-gu*. Tsering's two sisters, who were older than him, had been married off in *bag-ma* to other households. The two children born to Tsering and Lha-dzom were as yet unmarried, although quite grown-up, and lived with their parents and their mother's second husband, Tsering P'hüntzok, the *porjag*.

[TEXT Continues on P. 390]

TABLE 35. GENEALOGY OF THE GYAMTSO-PA (*rGya-mTs'ho-pa*) HOUSEHOLD.



[1] Married after eighteen years of marriage to Tsering, three years ago in 1938.
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

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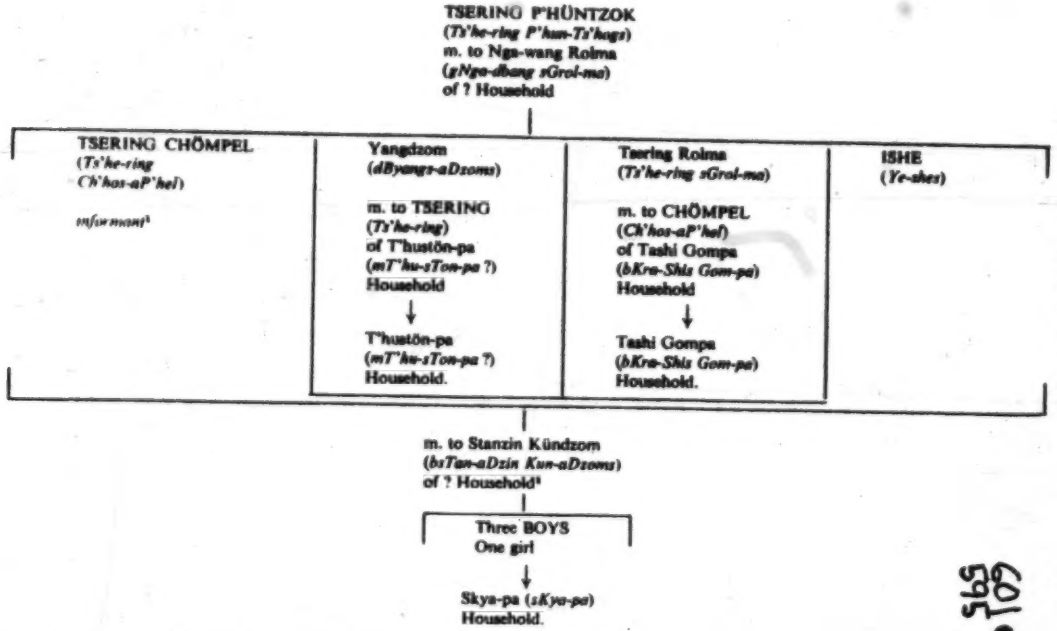
TABLE 36. GENEALOGY OF SKYA-PA (*sKya-pa*) HOUSEHOLD.



[1] Officially the only one married, and head of the family.
[2] She said that she would only speak if I paid her.
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

565 609

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

information that I wanted on the subject of fathers and sons sharing a wife in Kalatse.

Four days later, on the 8th October 1938, we were in Mulbek, the last village where people of Tibetan cultural affinity are to be found on the way westwards. Here, too, I discovered polyandrous families, and interviewed them through Joseph, but with some difficulty. It appeared that we had now reached a frontier area, one in which culture contact with non-polyandrous people existed and, as is usual in such a case, those practising polyandry were self-conscious about the custom and reluctant to speak about it to strangers. The first of two genealogies which I was able, nevertheless, to take down, is given in Table 36.

We went to this household, called Skya-pa, because a Moslem whom Joseph knew in the bazaar had told us that we would find a *porjag* in it. In the neighbourhood of the house we were, however, stopped by its inmates, who refused to let us approach it. They were a surly lot, the women wearing a sort of diminutive *perak* (*berag*) on their forehead and no woollen ears any longer, the men dressed in the usual Ladaki clothes. They seemed very reluctant even to speak to us, and Joseph had the greatest difficulty in getting anything out of them. They said that we could not go to the house because it was dirty, and only with the worst possible grace, condescended to speak to us where we stood, in the lane leading to their home.

A man called Tsering Chömpel was our informant. He told us that his parents, Tsering P'hüntzok his father, and Ngawang Rolma his mother, lived in the *k'hang-gu*, while he with his wife, their four children and his younger brother, Ishe, lived in the *k'hang-chen*. He told us, too, that his two sisters, Yangdzom and Tsering Rolma, were married out in *bag-ma* to other households, respectively to Tsering of T'hustön-pa household, and Chömpel of Tashi Gompa household.

Asked if these two households were polyandrous, he said no, that they were not. Pressed, he added that polyandry was not practised in Mulbek, and that he himself did not share his wife, Stanzin Kündzom, with Ishe. This was denied later by Joseph, who told me that from friends of his in Mulbek, he knew that polyandry existed there just as much as in the rest of Ladak, but that the people did not like to admit it, were shy to do so, and even somewhat ashamed. When I asked about the rumoured *porjag* said to exist there, needless to say, this was hotly denied. We were asked what our source of information was, which we naturally refused to divulge. Whereupon Tsering Chömpel said to Joseph that his family was being slandered.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

Stanzin Kündzom refused to speak during the whole interview. I tried to draw her out at the beginning, but she made it perfectly clear at once that she would only say something if I paid her then and there. Not wishing to do this for fear of setting a bad example and creating a precedent, we carried on with her husband who was somewhat more accommodating, and eventually gave him a monetary reward when we had finished, for which he expressed his thanks.

That same morning, Joseph and I went on to another polyandrous family of Mulbek, called *Yoktso-pa* (*gYog-Ts'hogs-pa*) (Table 37). These people, who appeared to be as poor and as suspicious of us as the others but were slightly more accommodating in that they did admit to being polyandrous, lived in a *k'hang-gu* in which there were two brothers married to one wife, and in a *k'hang-chen,* the inhabitants of which were the two sons of the former and their common wife, young people who had only recently been married and did not yet have any children.

Tsewang, the eldest of the older generation, acted as the informant, but his brother, Tsewang Paljor, and their common wife, Nordzom Rolma, assisted him greatly. These people told us that their parents, Paljor their father, and Skidzom their mother, had died some years ago, and that they were consequently occupying the *k'hang-gu* now themselves, since the marriage of their grown-up children. Their eldest sister, Tseten, was married away in *bag-ma* to three brothers in a household called Alea-pa, while the second sister, also elder to them, Chosang Rolma, was a nun. This woman was present at the interview, and we heard that she was normally resident at Himis gompa, but that she often came home on visits. She had no particular inclination to be a nun, it seemed, since she had been sent to the monastery by her parents when, as a child, she had nearly died, and they had made a vow that if she recovered, they would dedicate her to Himis.

The informant and his brother, together with their common wife, Nordzom Rolma, had had three children, two boys, Sonam Wangyal and Tsewang Tashi, and one daughter, born between these two, called Tashi Pal-mo. The latter was married off to Tashi Sonam of Shak-pa Household, while the two boys had a wife in common, whom they had married recently. Her name was Tashi Kidzom, and they lived with her in the *k'hang-chen*, which they had just taken over. They had been married too short a time to have children yet, and that is all that the words "no issue" mean in the genealogical table.

It had not been too difficult here, to find out that these people were

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

TABLE 37. GENEALOGY OF YOKTSO-PA (*gYog-Ts'he*

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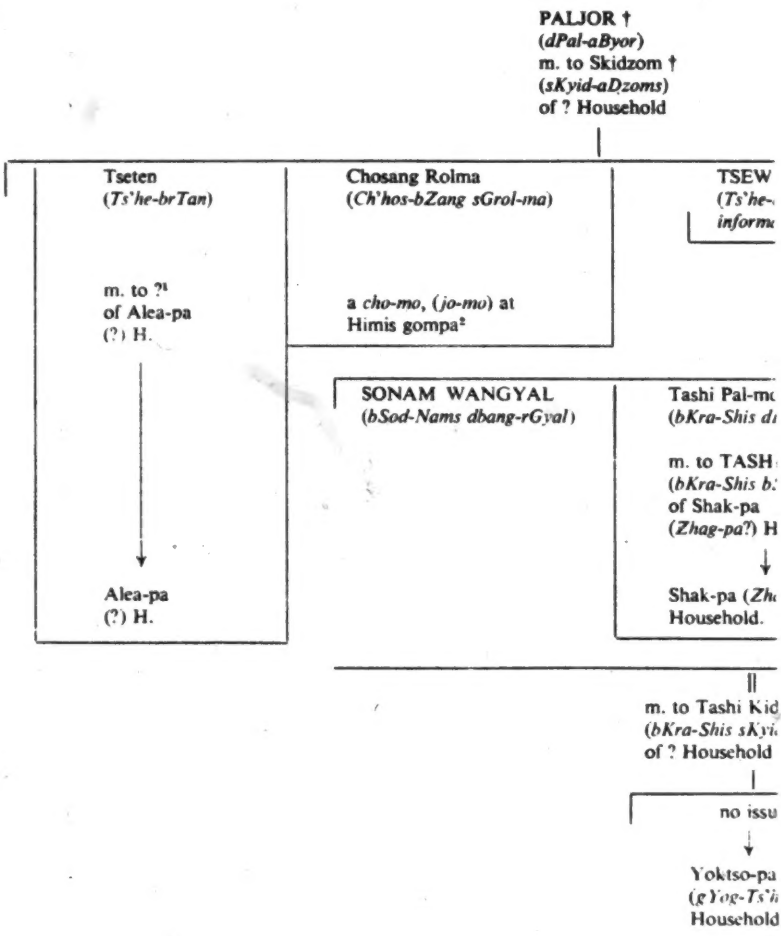

[1] Married to three brothers, names unknown.
[2] She nearly died as a child and was dedicated to the monastery if she survived.
[3] A lama, whose existence was kept secret from me; being of the un-reformed, Red-hat se
brothers with them.

Conventional signs as in Table 27.

[facing P. 393-A]

YOKTSO-PA (*gYog-Ts'hogs-pa*) HOUSEHOLD.

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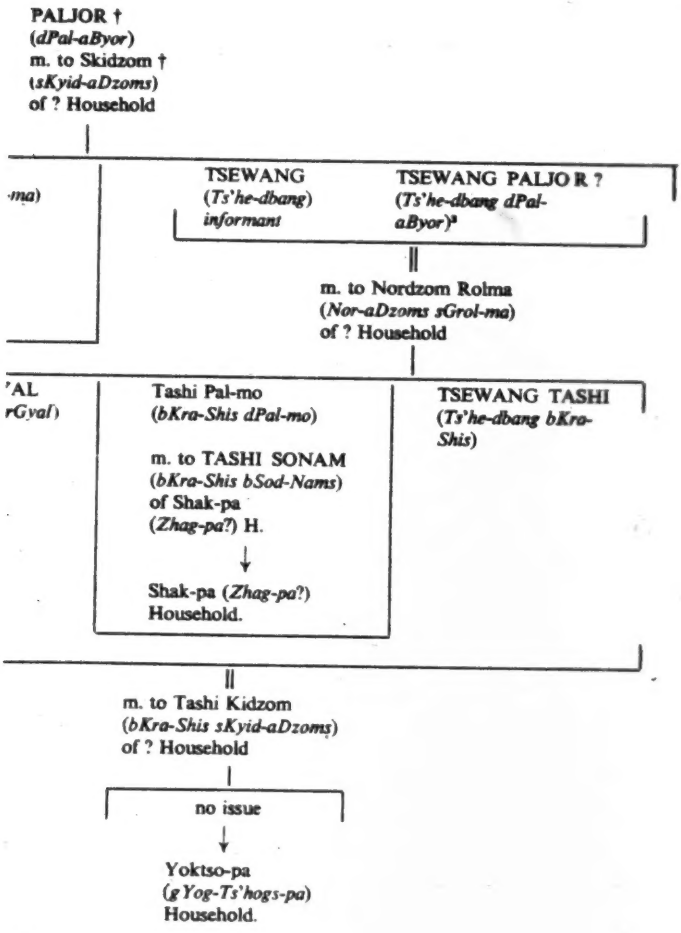

tery if she survived.
f the un-reformed, Red-hat sect *Nyingma-pa*, he shared the common wife of his

[facing P. 393-B]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

595 601 992 polyandrous, thus giving the lie to those of Skya-pa household who said that no one was polyandrous in Mulbek. But, all the same, the Yoktso-pa family did hide something from me, which I would never have heard about had it not been for Joseph Gergan. As we were returning to our camp, he mentioned to me that he knew that Tsewang and Tsewang Paljor shared their wife, Nordzom Rolma, with yet another brother of theirs, who was a Red-hat, unreformed *Nying ma-pa* sect lama. And as we passed down the street away from the household we had just visited, I noticed a monk, clad in the usual red clothes, coming out of a house close-by, and immediately entering another one, as if he did not wish to be seen by us. Joseph pointed him out to me, and told me that this was the man. He lived in the local monastery in the town, and was maintained by it; but he had not given up his share of the family property when he left, and he was still closely associated with his brothers. Not being obliged by the rules of his order to observe celibacy, he shared the common wife, Nordzom Rolma, with them. It was remarkable how the family had not wished to let us know this, and had even witheld mentioning the existence of the lama brother. Joseph did not know his name, so that I was unable to put it down in the genealogy. He was younger than the two other men, and I have consequently shown him after them for this reason.

595 197 842 During the day, investigating the rumour and counter rumour concerning a *porjag* in the Skya-pa household, I heard that no such an institution existed west of the P'hoto-la, the last pass which we had crossed before reaching Mulbek. Asked why this was so, Joseph was told in the village that it was because it was an immoral practice which should not be encouraged. Once again, this appeared to me to be an indication of the effects of culture contact, the people in this frontier area being ashamed of the custom of calling a man in when they had failed to have issue with a woman's other husbands, as is the practice further east in Ladak. The Moslems, however, insisted that *porjags* existed in secret, and assured us that the Buddhists who denied this were not telling the truth.

PART II

000 ### *THE POLYANDRY OF THE TIBETANS OF TIBET PROPER*

In Appendix 1, will be found the account of how we went from Kashmir to Kalimpong in Bengal for the first time in 1938, and returned

23: Benedict
197, 113, 601

ALl Southeast Asia
West Tibetans AJ4
Northern Tribes AW45
Pahari AW14

/For a linguistic reconstruction of kinship terminology of several Tibetan-speaking peoples of India, see ALl Southeast Asia, 23: Benedict, category 116, pp. 52-74./